NEW TIMES

USSR – Japan
"The Northern Territories": to cede or not to cede?

FEBRUARY 19-25, 1991

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VICTOR KAZACHEK

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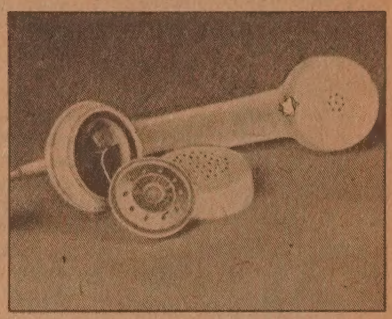

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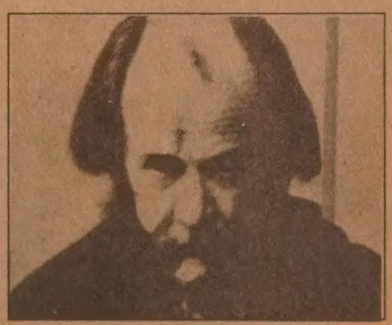

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From our mailbag

■ Those who call the KGB the **state** secret police are mistaken. The nature of that organization was very accurately summed up by Vyacheslav Menzhinsky: "We are the armed part of the Party." He stressed that the main task of a member of the Cheka is the fulfilment of the Party directives: "One should always keep it in mind that the Cheka has only one master – the Party." During the transition to a market economy, the greatest part of the managerial apparatus becomes unnecessary and loses its material boons. It is a tragedy for them and the KGB is trying to keep the Party out of troubles and protect it from the market. To speak about the depolitization of the KGB is as much an absurdity as demanding the depolitization of the CPSU Central Committee.

The KGB is a unique organization because today it is the world's most powerful "armed part" of a party. Neither American Democrats and Republicans nor British Conservatives and Labourites have their own armed units.

A body for the struggle against counterrevolution and sabotage, the Cheka, that in reality engaged in eliminating political rivals, was created on December 20, 1917. Today they again speak about economic sabotage. So, is the "armed part of the party" going to add to its list of victories one more victory – that over today's opponents of the Communist Party?

I. Dorovskikh
Moscow, USSR

■ I was surprised when, in Soyuzpechat, they returned me the money for my subscription to the Polish edition of your weekly. Over one million Poles live in the Soviet Union. And this year we were deprived of many publications in our own language. The year 1991 is the first year when we will not be able to subscribe to any Polish publications. Practically no one among those who live outside Lituania was able to subscribe to Lithuanian publications in Polish.

Your magazine in Polish would come in very handy, especially against the background of the existing vacuum of the Polish language press. Besides, it is becoming a more and more progressive publication (I remember especially well the article by Leonid Vasilyev "After Bankruptcy" (No.49/90). Hence, I think it would very much interest the readers in Poland and Poles in the United States and other countries.

I. Medvetsky, engineer
Surgut, USSR

From the editor. In Warsaw, *New Times* was translated into Polish and published by the cooperative publishing house Wydawnictwo Wspolczesne. Last year the publishing house folded up and the NT Polish edition was closed, too.

■ I think that the article by Leonid Mlechin "The Islamic Factor" (No.47/90) is one of the most objective articles written about Afghansitan. As a resident of the republic bordering on Afghanistan, I found it especially interesting to read this material. I was puzzled by the words of President Najibullah: "But how much (Soviet) blood will be spilled if Hekmatyar manages to rouse Soviet Muslims?" It appears that the leader of the friendly country, President Najibullah, has a poor knowledge of us Soviet Muslims if he thinks that we will be puppets in the hands of mujahedin and champion their fanatical ideas. It is my deep conviction that no Hekmatyars and their henchmen from the implacable "Peshawar seven" – even if they come to power in Kabul – will be able to wrongfoot me and thousands of my compatriots – Soviet Muslims, patriots of their land!

Jalal Suleimanov
Turkmen SSR, USSR

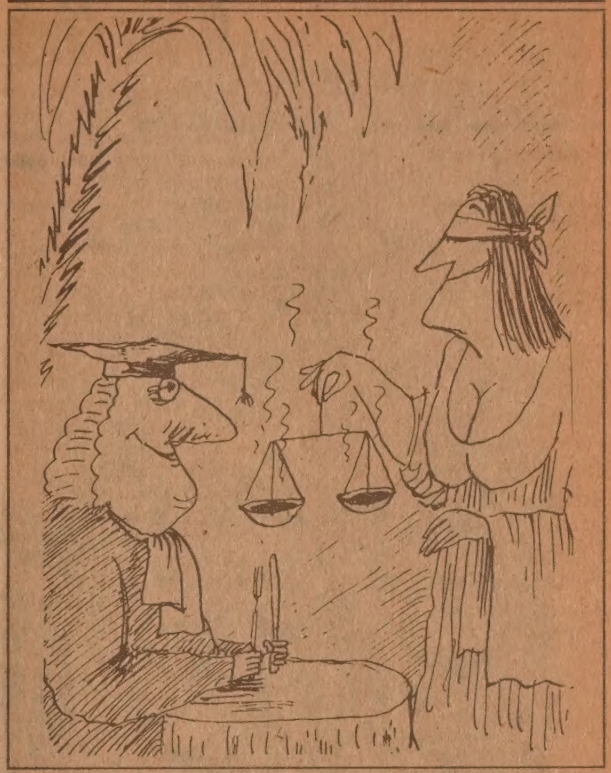
■ In the section "From our mailbag" (No.42/90) you published my material about Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov, a well-known political scientist and the author of twenty books exposing the crimes committed by Stalin and his myrmidons. I am happy to inform you that the blatant lie that Avtorkhanov collaborated with fascists has been refuted follow-

Capital punishment sanctiond by people

■ I was recently startled to learn about the following incident. What do you think the residents of Naberezhnye Chelny made the authorities do by threatening them with a strike at the KAMAZ auto works? Raise their salaries? Rescind instructions that infringed upon their rights? Thousands of people in a fit of righteous wrath demanded the holding at the stadium of a trial for the man who was accused of a murder that shook the entire city. To be sure, their demands were satisfied: the trial at the stadium did take place and the murderer was sentenced to death to the delight of the venerable public. **Who in this country dares to go against the will of the people?** Thank God the execution of the sentence did not take place in the same stadium.

I also recollect another episode. It happened at the meeting in Luzhniki to mark the birthday of the late Academician Sakharov. A group of the indefatigable Telman Gdlyan's henchmen from Zelenograd was notable for a large poster among the numerous public. For almost four hours, braving a cold wind, the "democrats" were taking turns at the megaphone on the platform as they broached a lot of subjects: they spoke of the need to ban the CPSU and divide up its property, to take away from the nomenklatura their dachas and cars, and to stop feeding "African spongers" because "we don't have enough to eat ourselves." Speakers also put forward many other interesting, fresh and instructive ideas. They often used the word "scum".

As I listened to all these speeches, I asked myself one question: Was anyone going to say what the late Academician had been struggling for all his life? No one did. Then I lost my patience and asked for the floor. I reminded the gathering about the position of Sakharov, who was an irreconcilable enemy of capital



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

Not the "secret police," but the armed part of the party

President Najibullah doesn't know beans about us

Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov has been acquitted

There is enough food in Putivl

ing an examination of archive documents. Not long ago, the congress of the Chechen people adopted a resolution about complete rehabilitation of Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov. The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Republic has given him back his citizenship. The book by Avtorkhanov *The Technology of Power* is being readied for publication in Grozny, and another one, *From Andropov to Gorbachev*, is now being published in the republican newspaper *Golos Checheno-Ingushetii*.

Abdurakhman Idrisov
Grozny, USSR

■ In the magazine *New Times* (No.44/90) which I respect, Doctor of Sciences (Philosophy) Alexander Gorelov wrote about a political hunger strike by Ukrainian students who demanded the resignation of the prime minister. The students' demands were met. The students' demands? Or the demands of those who stood behind them? I doubt it very much that the students themselves could have opted for their road to death. They were most likely persuaded to do so by being criminally allured by revolutionary romanticism. In what democratic country will it be possible for three dozen students to overthrow the head of government? By portraying as righteous men those who, according to the author, are fighting against the party and state democracy, he is in reality coming out against the lawful government. Ordinary people want to keep away from politics propagated by Alexander Gorelov. People realize that political passions will not put bread on their tables.

In Moscow democrat Gavriil Popov is in office and newspapers report: "The capital is on the verge of a famine." Anatoly Sobchak is in control in Leningrad. And people, like during the siege, buy their food with ration cards. Neither Lvov nor Ivano-Frankovsk, where democrats are holding sway, fare any better. It is easier to criticize than to put your shoulder to the wheel and do it.

In Putivl, thank God, we have enough food – meat, butter, cheese and milk are available in sufficient quantities. This is, perhaps, the advantage of small towns where, as a rule, communists are at the helm. Remote places are less prone to extremism. It is there that themost healthy forces of the nation are concentrated. Peopledon't go on strike there because they take a sober view of the situation and don't long to get into politics, realizing that it will not bring about stability.

A.Lugovskoi
Putivl, USSR

■ As I read the Soviet press, I get the impression that you don't think much of healthy food if you take heart at the appearance in Moscow of McDonald's and stalls selling Coca-Cola. You should see to it that both at cafeterias and at home you have healthy food and not junk. Therefore I send you a page from one of our journals about growing seedlings of cereals. I think that, for example, in the Soviet North, where conditions for growing vitamin-rich plants are not good, they could be grown at home. That would be inexpensive and practical.

Maybe some cooperative would undertake this work?

Gabriele Schreckenbach
Dresden, Germany

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

punishment. I also said a few words about the struggle to abolish capital punishment that is being waged in the USSR and other countries by the Radical Party and asked for a show of hands of those who favoured the abolishment of capital punishment. Few people did. But after the meeting, as I was passing on my way to the metro station, a group of women carrying the folded Zelenograd banner, I heard them say: "See! Just think what he is proposing! To abolish capital punishment! It should be rather applied more often to all sorts of bureaucrats and members of nomenklatura: they are blood-suckers! The radical!"

However, what should one expect if the country's idol, an investigator from Leningrad, states on television that only an agent of the Mafia could favour in this country the abolishment of capital punishment.

After that should one not be surprised that according to sociological surveys only an insignificant minority (I nearly said: a miserable handful of renegades) opposes capital punishment, and some people are ready to execute the sentences with their own hands?

Our legislators can always put the blame on the people: the people are against the abolishment of capital punishment! Indeed; they do oppose it. To be more precise, the majority of them are against it. But who said that democracy is always the power of the majority? The majority crucified Christ, the majority brought Hitler to power in Germany, the majority...

It is human rights that make the basis of democracy. Individual rights are above all other rights – the rights of nations, the rights of states and the rights of any associations. I mean human rights, including the right to life, hackneyed by our propaganda, the respect of which under no circumstances should be made dependent on the opinion of the majority. In that case, referendums are inadmissible.

Nikolai Khramov
Moscow, USSR

SCANDAL

Photo by Dmitry Borko

"Presnyagate"

Is Yeltsin's office bugged? The "war of laws" gives way to a "war of scandals"

Marina Shakina

Lovers of sensational revelations and historical analogies rejoice: this country has a Watergate of its own at long last! So many countries, so many Watergates. In the United States Richard Nixon had to resign after it was found out that his men had bugged the offices of the president's political rivals. The recent scandal in Hungary, dubbed Dunagate, when the telephone conversations of the opposition parties were listened to, touched off a storm of indignation and protests, dealing a hard blow on the then ruling Hungarian Socialist Party and eventually resulting in the HSP's defeat in the elections. And what about the Soviet Union?

Whose bugs are these, anyway?

The alarm was sounded by the heads of the Security Department under the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Said deputy department head Yuri Goryakin: There were uncontrolled leaks of information about what was going on at the Supreme Soviet and

the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation already in the early discussion stages. It was decided to check the rooms occupied by the KGB and the "government communications" switchboard. The trail led to Rooms 4-120 and 4-120a, which stayed closed practically all the time. Goryakin says the rooms belonged to the KGB. Deputy Nemtsov informed the Supreme Soviet about the two mysterious rooms at the February 7 evening sitting of the Supreme Soviet.

Even before the rooms were officially inspected, Goryakin claimed that they were used for listening in on conversations. Goryakin said this information had been supplied to him by unidentified workers of what is known as the "weak currents service." Moreover, the tapping equipment was said to be strong enough to "control the situation in the entire building." However, speaking at the February 7 sitting (after the rooms had been opened) Deputy Nemtsov said that a special examination was needed to tell whether the recovered equipment was intended for collecting information or for the prevention of information leaks.

At the same sitting, some deputies warned against the temptation to place the entire blame on the KGB. The KGB is not the only secret service in the world and the Supreme Soviet of Russia discussed matters so interesting that any secret service might well wish to have more information about them. Said Ruslan Khasbulatov: "In my opinion, it is too early to speculate on any possible KGB involvement...This may be a case of espionage." There was even a version that acting under the guise of KGB agents, some people might have supplied secret information to some other intelligence service. Khasbulatov said that some unidentified people infiltrated the rooms despite the fact that guards had been posted by the doors, and spent seven minutes inside. Later the people were apprehended, but "obviously, the seven minutes they had spent inside was enough for them to transmit something to somebody."

However, the guards were smarter when a *New Times* correspondent approached the rooms. (see Box page 5).

Testimony of independent technical expert Yevgeni Neskoromny, who participated in the examination of Rooms 4-120 and 4-120a.

"Room 4-120a opened easily. The room is a small one and when we opened it there was a desk there, a desk-top lamp and two chairs. It was much more difficult, though, to open Room 4-120a: its door had very sophisticated locks. When the door was opened at last, we saw another door behind it. The second door was specially designed to be sealed, but there was no seal. The participants of the examination, among whom there were several MPs urgently recalled from a parliamentary sitting, entered the room and then asked me to come in. Behind the door there were several built-in closets, four desks, a small safe, and a refrigerator. Electronic equipment was placed atop one of the desks and there were power batteries under it. The equipment was attached to one of the ten high-frequency cables that came out from the hatch, connecting the cables with the communication network. In principle, this channel of communication could give one access to any Supreme Soviet office." (See Box, page 6).

KGB people attended the examination of the rooms and did not really try to conceal the fact that the equipment belonged to their agency. However, a day later the KGB issued a statement denying all suspicions that it might have been involved in the affair.

This difficult and contradictory situation can not be clarified without applied efforts. Moreover, it looks painfully similar to many scandals that have occurred in the past few years.

First, there is a complete lack of information. After the first sensational statements, the heads of the Security Department refuse to talk with the press and explain the incongruities with which their statements are loaded. The ad hoc Supreme Soviet commission refuses to answer any questions until the investigation is over. We contacted several Supreme Soviet members, but the MPs were no better informed about "Presnyagate."

Second, there is too much mist surrounding the affair. The rooms appear to have no official user. No department, including Security, had duplicate keys to these rooms. How could this be possible? The phones installed in Rooms 4-120 and 4-120a were disconnected on the order from the Security Department but some time later they were activated again from the Telephone Exchange. On whose orders?

The picture for which the police grabbed the *New Times* correspondent

"This is a regular practice..."

New Times correspondent, Konstantin Isakov was apprehended by the police when he photographed the corridor where the two mysterious rooms are located. The correspondent was accused of "having broken the internal regulations of the House of Soviets." After a two-hour talk with several police officers responsible for the Russian Parliament's security and one secret service man who did not introduce himself, Isakov was instructed to have more respect for the building which houses the parliament of Russia. After that, the officers suggested that Isakov expose his film. The correspondent refused to do so, saying that he could not return to the editorial office with bringing nothing but rolls of exposed film. This argument was weighty enough and the journalist was released.

The correspondent also talked to a highly-placed official of the Council of Ministers of Russia who requested that his name not be identified.

"The telephones of all security-sensitive institutions, including the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation," are tapped," he said. "In particular all conversations with foreigners are tapped for reasons of security. Public places in such institutions are also bugged. This is a regular practice. If the rooms with special equipment have been broken into, this means that the KGB, whose business is to protect state interests, is paralized, which is too bad."

"Induction"

When they spoke about information leaks, workers of the Security Department did not supply any examples or fact. Meanwhile, their sources of information could have been different. Why did they begin to suspect that Supreme Soviet phones were tapped? Another surprising thing is the naivity the Security Department staff displayed when they made public their sensational revelations. Hadn't they had any suspicions before? Could the Security Department staff – all former KGB workers – have failed to suspect something like this?

Eavesdropping is an old, time-tested weapon from the arsenal of the cloak and dagger spies. In the totalitarian Soviet state, tapping of phones has traditionally been an almost normal practice, used under Stalin, Khruschev and Brezhnev.

From the reminiscences of Boris Bazhanov, Stalin's personal secretary:

"I entered Stalin's office without asking to be let in, as I always did when there was urgent business to attend to. I saw at once that Stalin was speaking over the telephone. Actually, he was only listening, not speaking. I stopped to wait for him to finish his conversation. After a time I realized that the receivers of all the four phones on Stalin's desk were down and that Stalin was holding a fifth receiver, the cable of which came straight from one of the desk drawers.

... It took me only seconds to notice this and to realize that in his desk Stalin had a secret telephone exchange which he used to listen to any conversation he wanted to."

From the book by Dina Kaminskaya, who defended Bukovsky, Ginzburg and many other dissidents:

"...One evening several friends came over to my place. Our chat was interrupted by my son Dmitri who entered the room with an odd smile on his face.

"Could you come here for a moment, dad," he asked, "We've got to talk."

When my husband returned moments later, the expression he wore on his face was as astonished as Dmitri's had been.

"I've got to tell you that every word you say here can be perfectly heard in our son's room. All one has to do is to pick up the receiver..."

I had neither a telephone nor wiring in my room. On the day after we learned that our flat was bugged, the door bell rang. I opened the door and saw a man I did not know; the stranger wore a dark coat and a fur cap.

"I'm from the Telephone Exchange," the man said, "I would like to check your phone, please. This is a new service we offer our clients: we check phones at home, and you do not need to call a technician."

When I told him about our fortunate ability to hear every word uttered in my flat in the receiver, the "technician" said it was induction.

After the anti-Communist opposition came to power in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, bugs were found almost in all parliaments.

One could also remember the scandal with the new building of the US embassy in Moscow. The Americans claimed that the

An expert's view

Yevgeny NESKOROMNY is the independent technician who participated in the examination of Rooms 4-120 and 4-120a on the invitation of the Security Department of the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

"The deputies asked me to check whether the equipment was in order and to suggest what it might be intended for. The equipment looked like a wide-range, highly sensitive receiver. I plugged the system and made sure it worked.

When we came into Room 4-120a later, the prosecutor, the investigation officer and I found many different antennas and parts of antennas, and many cables. There was also a Ruta tape recorder. In addition, the examination was videotaped.

What could the equipment be used for? Different usage is possible. One of the widely used methods of eavesdropping is attaching a microtransmitter to a pen, a wristwatch, a lighter, a telephone receiver of the person whose conversations you want to listen to. Such a transmitter cannot transmit signals farther than about twenty metres. That is why the receiver must be somewhere close to the transmitter say built-in in the wall panels. The receiver will send the signals further by cable.

Can this system be used to prevent information leaks? It can, but only in case the occupant of the office fears that his/her interlocutor may record important conversations with the help of a microtransmitter. In addition, the occupant of the office must know that the office is bugged and must apply for bugging on his/her own free will. However, no one in the leadership of the Supreme Soviet knew anything about the bugs.

When I drew the attention of the KGB officer, who took part in the examination of the rooms, to the fact that the radio device could only be used to audio monitoring, the latter said the equipment was only a part of a sophisticated system preventing information leaks. He also said he could not specify any details about that system because it was top secret.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

building was packed with listening devices despite the fact that it had been built by American construction workers and every brick arrived from the USA tightly wrapped in plastic. Today the brand-new building stands vacant: the US Department of State refuses to occupy it as its new embassy.

Bugs in our life

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has recently adopted new criminal legislation which sanctions phone tapping as a means of combatting crime, without restricting the opportunities offered to the investigation, distinct from the laws of civilized countries. In this country, the law allows tapping of the phones of any citizens who may be implicated in a crime, not only the victim of or the suspect in the crime under investigation. Phone tapping in this country does not require either the knowledge and consent of the person whose conversations are listened to or a court warrant. Phone tapping can continue for six months without an interruption. The investigation does not need to inform the suspect about the tapping or to apologize for it if no results have been obtained and the suspicion has proved false. One day your phone may be tapped and you will not know anything about that. That is why reasonable people continue to avoid discussing anything important over the phone.

However, even the ultra-liberal use of phone tapping sanctioned by the new criminal law is no excuse for the "preventive" bugging of parliaments, flats of opposition leaders, phones of opposition parties, public figures and organizations, because political activity is no crime.

The only thing that may attract the public's attention to the scandal is the mention of Boris Yeltsin's name. The connection was stressed in all the papers: the rooms with the electronic equipment were situated just above Yeltsin's office and rumour has it that bugs have been detected in Yeltsin's flat too.

These suspicions fit ideally in the general picture of the maveric Yeltsin's relations with the Kremlin. After a series of odd coincidences, which are officially dubbed "accidents" and popularly regarded as attempts on his life, the phone tapping scandal will only boost Yeltsin's popularity.

War of scandals?

Four years before World War One began, British counterintelligence revealed a German spy network... And let it live, watching it until the time came to destroy it. The network was eliminated during the very first days of the war and thus Germany lost all its sources of information at once. In Hungary, too, the details of Dunagate were made public on the very eve of the election campaign. The moment of revelation had been selected with utmost care.

Many observers believe the current scandal was carefully timed as well. Why should the Security Department have suddenly made so much fuss about two locked rooms on the fourth floor it had paid no attention to before? One analyst who is well-acquainted with the methods used by the secret services thinks that "the restrained official statement denying any KGB involvement in the affair demonstrates that this scandal is no serious trouble for that department. Once again the public was given a dummy scandal."

There are signs that "a war of scandals" is going to complement the war of laws. Among the recent scandals two are connected with the nouveauriche and MP, Artyom Tarasov, who accused Gorbachev of planning to sell the Kurile Islands to Japan and was accused himself of illegal business transactions. Then the KGB cracked down on the planned illegal currency deals sanctioned by Filshin, Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation. Some political scientists believe that "Presnyagate" is the Russian Republic's retaliation for the Filshin affair.

There have been different speculations about "Presnyagate." Some people believe that the KGB's work could not possibly be so unsophisticated. If the KGB had really listened to conversations in Russian Parliament, this would never have been revealed. State-of-the-art electronic equipment makes it possible for professionals to perform any kind of spying without fear of being caught. Experts believe that phone tapping can be proved only if actual recordings are there. But then again, what if the KGB saves its professionalism and costly equipment for external foes, and does not take pains when it comes to monitoring domestic ones?

Most probably, the investigation which the Supreme Soviet started after some hesitation, will not produce any concrete results. No one seems to be interested in it. The sides are exchanging political blows, like water polo players do under water when the referee cannot see. As for the public, it has to be satisfied with watching what goes on on the surface.

Compiled by
I. Konstantinov and B.Safkarey

Pugacheva's other fans

The ex-KGB general-turned-MP, **Oleg Kalugin,** told a *New Times* correspondent that in his time the KGB tapped the phones of not only dissidents, but also of all more or less prominent intellectuals. In Leningrad where Kalugin served as the city secret police chief, the KGB bugged the phones of Academician Likhachev, writer Granin, artistic director Vinogradov of the Kirov Theatre, chief conductor Yuri Temirkanov of the Leningrad Philarmonic. In Moscow the KGB bugged chess champion Kasparov, poet Yevtushenko, and even pop-star Pugacheva...

The KGB had to get a special permission from leading CPSU bodies to bug the phones of party and government officials. A Politburo member could order the KGB to bug any phone, including those servicing the "government communication" circuit.

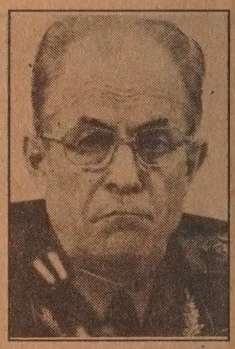
The marshal is angry? Then the marshal is in the wrong

Alexander Pumpyansky

Indeed, how could we get along without glasnost?

Truth to tell, whatever one might say about the recent plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, it nevertheless spelled a triumph for democracy and glasnost. An odd triumph, a sad one, I must say, yet still a triumph. Could we have imagined even a couple of years ago that CP speakers would refute so freely and unconstrainedly not only the spirit but even the letter of what the country's top leader, to wit the CP General Secretary, had been dinning away all the time. By the irony of fate precisely the people publicly vilifying glasnost are first to take advantage of its results. When it comes to the test, the anti-democrats also need democracy. Except that they fail to realize that.

While CP functionaries fervently persuade one another to go over the top, the military, to wit the colonels and the colonel generals have already done so. If not war, then glanost makes national heroes of them, at least in their own eyes. A colonel may publicly slight the defence minister's "advice," while a colonel-general may thumb his snoot at the commander-in-chief. Glasnost, you know.



Akhromeyev vs Arbatov

The Soviet military-industrial complex: What's happening there

Though spoiled, and as we are told, satiated with the triumphs of glasnost, we must definitely not overlook a certain publication of last week's that represents a milestone in the intricate process we are going through, one it is really hard to define. In fact, I think only historians will be able to do that after some time. What I mean is the evolution of democracy through its renunciation. Implied is Marshal Akhromeyev's article "The Union: To Be or Not To Be" featured in the *Sovetskaya Rossiya* newspaper. From the ethical and political angle it is undoubtedly something new.

Vendetta

The article pivots around a polemic with Academician Arbatov. True, I wouldn't say it's more polemical than the verdict of a military tribunal. The vendetta between the marshal and the academician is a highlight in the news media, that sheds light on what is taking place in our military-industrial complex and at the same time illuminates our political manners. Putting aside the details, what it amounts to is a controversy as to the nature of the social crisis that has hit our country and accordingly, as to the ways and means of resolving it, that is, what should be done.

– This is the crisis of the system, a logical sequel to all previous development. Accordingly, the system must be scrapped and the very pillars of society and the state completely overhauled. Society's militarization is both the salient symptom and cause of the current critical situation. It is manifest in the world's largest army, a patent surplus of weaponry and the economy's domination by the military-industrial complex. Unless conversion is universal, unless the part the military element plays in the life of society is categorically toned down, the crisis will not be resolved. That is the stance which Academician Arbatov has adopted. He has furnished a lot of eloquent and professional arguments to corroborate its rightness.

– We have been living and continue to live in the best of all possible worlds (under the most progressive and fairest system of all). We would successfully overcome the problems that have erupted from heaven knows where if not for malicious interference and subversion by the imperialists, the anti-communists, the secessionists, the nationalists and the venal democrats. They are currently converging against the army as the last mainstay of statehood and socialism. If they prove successful, the state will collapse, the country will find itself in imperialist shackles and the nation in capitalist bondage.

Such is the substance of the second standpoint. Hence what must be done minimally is to protect the army (from "attacks," budgetary cuts, disruptive conversion, frivolous treaties for troop pullouts from bridgeheads abroad, and the loss of class-minded bearings in defining the strategic enemy). The maximum sought, either a plan or a hope, is to restore the habitual order by relying on the army and other sound forces of society. Such is the philosophy that Marshal Akhromeyev patently propounds.

The arguments

Though the desire to fill the hearts of the *Sovetskaya Rossiya* readership with fire and fury is

understandable, oddly enough, it is the military aspect of the marshal's logic that seems to be on the weak side.

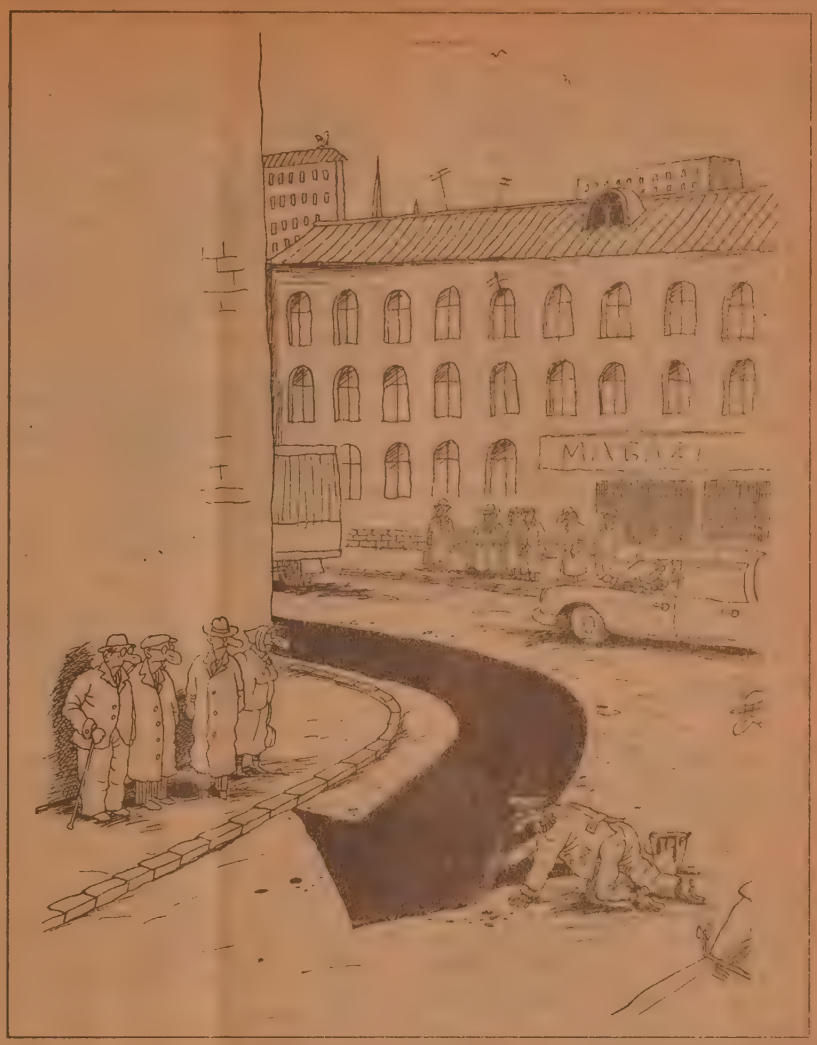
"Is the Soviet Union faced by a war danger today? What does it amount to? Are the USSR's state interests being violated? Where and by whom?" Such are the just questions the marshal puts. Here now are his replies:

"Today the Soviet Union's relations with the United States and the leading European countries of the NATO bloc have greatly improved. Hopefully, they may have even normalized. There is no question that for our country the tensions and threat of war have greatly diminished.

"However, despite all the positive results achieved in the Soviet Union's relations with the USA and with some other NATO countries, attainments that should be cherished and developed, their policy with respect to us remains contradictory. The military organization of the NATO bloc remains, though the Warsaw Treaty's similar organization has been liquidated in effect. To this day negotiations for cuts in naval armaments are declined. Today there seems to be no need to explain what naval forces mean, especially from the angle of what is taking place in the Persian Gulf area. It is not fortuitous that of late certain Western circles not infrequently attempt to dictate terms to us, even define what policy we should conduct inside the country. Consequently, today we observe attempts increasingly made to treat us from a position of strength, to exert pressure on us, to force us to agree to a policy conflicting with our interests. More and more frequently we observe actions that cannot be qualified otherwise than as intervention in our internal affairs on the side of secessionist forces."

I am used to thinking that though army reasoning may be overly dry and strict, it is always specific and definite, that wriggling is not its forte. So do we have a doctrinaire enemy as during the cold war, or not? And if we do, who is it, the USA, Britain, France, united Germany or, say, the Benelux countries? And if we do not have enough strength equivalent to the West's aggregate might, does that mean NATO will start a war of conquest against us to capture our people?

On the other hand, if nevertheless nobody intends to attack us (from the West, may I add, that traditional quarter from which our sentinels endlessly expected it, though it is actually the regimes of our, hopefully, former, allies and friends such as Saddam Hussein that are the real sources of global explosions), then why are we again exhorted to dig our tanks in, not yield a single inch occupied by our military-industrial complex and stick to our guns in the fight against all who believe in the beneficial character of further cuts in troops and armaments.



Drawing by Vladimir Nenashev

Rolled out is the bogey that this may inflict irreparable damage on our military industry, that given even a slight loosening of most favoured treatment, a slight loss in its privileged position in the economy, it will lose its potential, the sole thing we still possess. But doesn't the fact that the rest of the economy is in ruins and that the only marketable commodity produced in quantity and above is a tank give us the shivers? Or don't we see the connection between the overproduction of weaponry and the yawning gaps in the consumer market?

Scarcely do our people have any grounds for alarmist tendencies. We certainly have with what to defend ourselves. Though, we do not know whom we are to defend ourselves from. Indeed if things continue to go as they do, there soon will be nothing to defend.

Allies

The Warsaw Treaty argument is manifestly feeble.

I fear I might disappoint the erstwhile USSR Armed Forces Chief of Staff, but to qualify the balance of forces in the European theatre by arithmetic alone, is simply unrealistic. He infers that a year ago the Soviet armed forces had behind them also the armies of the GDR, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Poland. Not so now.

That the Warsaw Pact has "kicked the bucket" is no concession to the West, while the fact that NATO continues to exist is not remotely due to our generosity. Neither warrants us in principle demanding

compensation from the West. NATO is still alive because what brought into being this alliance of the Western democracies is still there. Sad to say, fear of the Soviet war machine has not gone, and what our military have been doing of late has only served to fan it anew. The Warsaw Pact is dead because it was stillborn from the very outset. No socialist community as a voluntary alliance of equal states welded together by a common objective or at least a common threat, ever existed. What did exist were regimes which were under Moscow's thumb. What did exist were armies that guarded these regimes. However, when these armied failed to cope, Soviet tanks had to roll in, as in the GDR in 1953 and in Hungary in 1956. The only joint action taken by the Warsaw Pact countries was that to put down the Prague Spring in 1968. Which had nothing at all in common with the task of defending the Fatherland. So we never lost any allies, as we never had them. As for our enemy, we may lose him provided we continue along the road to a normal open civic society as announced when perestroika was initiated. What the marshal proposes goes the opposite way.

Pressure

Next, the argument dished up as to the pressure supposedly exerted on us is again only for the spineless. What indeed could these Western devils thrust upon us which would be so bad for us? Rationed food? Cigarette coupons? Loding by police registration? Lines for everything as long as life itself? A beggarly, gloomy disinherited existence? Or will they bury us under their grain? Or have the Salvation Army conquer us? Or is it that we are afraid they will impose their labour productivity and living standard? Or their Common Market?

No, we should demonstrate more grit as we did under Stalin, when our borders were locked and we were indoctrinated with a steadfast immunity against pacifism, abstract humanitarianism, bourgeois pseudosciences like genetics and cybernetics and sundry general human ideals. May I assure the esteemed marshal that to ensure the unreserved ability of acting in a manner contrary to common sense and in defiance of the entire world, it is not at all necessary to keep augmenting our arsenals. The fortunate possession of just one A-bomb would be enough. Even without that, Kim Il Sung, Fidel and Saddam have already demonstrated absolute freedom.

In the arena

Such are the arguments our chief military authority supplies. What here would be new? Little as we see in the way of something specifically military. Oddly enough, the new is in a totally different area.

Firstly, the arena. We have come to take it for granted that today's journalistic discussions are far from gentlemanly. But I must say that never before have I encountered, so manifest an urging to peach, scatter and destroy. True, may I stipulate that I do not read, for example, the magazine *Molodaya Gvardia*.

Here now is a specimen of this polemic style:

"I would like to congratulate G.A. Arbatov on his starting to collaborate with B.N. Yeltsin. Having truthfully and faithfully served N.S. Khrushchev, L.I. Brezhnev and Y.V. Andropov, he collaborated with M.S. Gorbachev, was for twenty years an elected member of the CPSU Central Committee and worked for the good of socialism. However, now having become B.N. Yeltsin's helper, he has at last, no doubt, acquired a leader whose views coincide, I think, with those of the academician. I am curious to know whether G.A. Arbatov will continue to be a member of the Communist Party?"

"Truthfully and faithfully" is a serious culpability. Perhaps the marshal himself was a dissident all these years and only this morning returned from internal emigration in a sealed railway car? Or does he want an entire generation of politicians who started off before perestroika to resign? A maximalist view indeed. I have no reason to stick up for Arbatov, and for that matter, he does not need it. What the Institute of US and Canada Studies has been doing has not been devoid of a time-serving behaviour, although that is the fault rather of the powers-that-were who of all institutes preferred the institute of humble obedience and who of all the sciences invariably preferred time serving. Nevertheless, the professional advice and recommendation the said institute proferred under all personal regimes were never salted by an ideologized or confrontational approach, the cold war spirit or vindication of the arms race.

Conspiracy

Now let me note that all the afore quoted revelations are but the gilding on the lily. The marshal has detected a conspiracy which threatens the Fatherland with death. He has named the state's arch-enemies. They are Yeltsin, Popov, Sobchak, Afanasiev, Arbatov, of course, and Major Lopatin. The six have split up labours, with Yeltsin sowing chaos, Popov dismembering the Soviet Union, Sobchak bombing the CPSU, and Arbatov, in cahoots with Lopatin, fighting the army. True, thus far the army has stuck to its guns, which indisputably demonstrates its grit. (I have not put any inverted commas here, the style is the marshal's own, however). Willy-nilly I feel a secret admiration for these fabulous people. Real palladins, they!

Meanwhile the marshal sounds the tocsin with a power comparable only to the prophetic might of a certain writer, who yet at the dawn of perestroika, discovered the enemy on the banks of the Volga and urged fighting a new Stalingrad battle against him.

"As a veteran Communist and a veteran of the Great Patriotic War I put this question also to the members of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Central Committee of the Russian Federation Communist Party. Life has put the question inexorably and rigidly before you as to whether the Soviet Union be one or be broken up into dozens of states dependent on the West, and whose people will suffer great misery and humiliation. In its day, in 1941-45, when life put this question to us, we answered it. The answer we gave was worthy of us. How do you answer it today?"

All the blacklisted persons are People's Deputies of the USSR as is the marshal too. Hence the first thing that came into my head was for the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Ethics to discuss this manifest defamation. However, I discarded the idea as ridiculous. What kind of ethics can one talk about with an indignant patriot? People are tired of parliamentary expressions! Enough of playing at democracy! There are no opponents, even political opponents, with respect to whom one should observe the code, even the civil code. There are only enemies of the state, who should be given short shrift. True, I don't understand why the marshal summons us to fight the Great Patriotic War, as after all Yeltsin and Popov are no fascists. Let's then fight the civil war! Or more simply, revert to 1937.

I think we ought to be grateful to the marshal for having so liberally revealed the level and mentality of our old ruling class. Thanks to glasnost we have been served a warning from the horse's mouth. So what are we building? A European home? Or army-barracks socialism in one individual land? A civic society? Or war communism?

The army's place is in the barracks, not in streets or offices. The army should hold aloof from politics. When even the marshal's baton, let alone entrenching shovels or tank tracks, touch politics, glasnost becomes jihad and a political process a military kangaroo court.

Incidentally, an MP in army uniform is an absurdity. Whereas Alksnis as a deputy may dispute with the Defence Minister, Alksnis as a colonel is not entitled to do so. Whereas Makashov as a deputy may assail the president from the rostrum, he may not do so in his capacity as commanding general of a military area. Democracy makes everyone equal. Colonel Aksnis, Colonel General Makashov, Marshal Akromeyev may run for the presidency, only provided they discard their army uniforms.

Allow me to furnish a vivid illustration from life "on the other side." When Dwight Eisenhower was elected US president, he retired from the army. After two terms in the White House, the most possible, he requested reinstatement as a five-star general insofar as the army pension was more than that of a president. Such is democracy. Of course, the Marshal may object that we should not heed the president of another country. I fear I will again dissent. ■

Tossed tanks

Galina Sidorova,
New Times
political analyst

We keep on getting things tossed our way. According to what the President says, it's mostly ideas that are tossed our way by the democrats. The conservatives though toss us something more material, to wit paratroopers and patrols. The top brass specializes in tanks.

As I see it, in the next few days the policy of new thinking will come in for one more ordeal. The sore thumb in Soviet-West relations as regards security, or rather Soviet relations with the 21 West and East European states plus the US and Canada is treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe in particular those 800 tanks that the Soviet military have extricated from the mandated cuts by giving them a fresh coat of paints and transferring them to the Navy.

Yet what do a mere 800 tanks signify against the backdrop the crisis mauling the country, the war in the Gulf or, for that matter, the other issues in Soviet-West relations.

This magazine noted earlier that the tank attack against the treaty started long before it was signed, when 15,000 tanks were transferred beyond the Urals. Our partners watched this operation with concern but tolerated it, showing understanding of our difficulties at home and the vicissitudes of the political struggle.

At the time of the Shevardnadze–Baker talks on the eve of the Paris summit, at which the 22 heads of state were to sign the said treaty, those "naval" tanks to wit the repainted ones, almost surfaced. The military were determined to cling to them as part of the Soviet marines arsenal. But then, as far as we may judge, the President had to intervene. Because when at a meeting of the working group the Americans wondered what the tanks rumour spelled, they were told that the problem was nonexistent. The chief US delegate at the conventional arms talks, R.James Woolsey, was given the appropriate assurances. I can well imagine his amazement on seeing a several digit figure down in the lists that the parties exchanged when the treaty was signed, and his feelings upon learning that the negotiated mandate appeared to have no bearing upon the Navy. There were also other surprises in store for our negotiating partners. The Soviet armaments data reflected rather intent than actual facts. The number of installations subject to control was likewise greatly reduced against that negotiated earlier.

In other words, this card trick caused Soviet diplomats to blush and military experts to grin as they saw it as a success. To avoid a row and prevent the signing from being called off, as the heads of state concerned were already in Paris, the parties to the treaty reached a gentleman's agreement to iron out the controversial aspects and refer the clarified data to the joint advisory commission by mid-February following which ratification would begin.

However, what followed was a series of arguments that the Soviet military trotted out to shore up their actions. Compatriots are told that this is essential to ensure national security, that the advantageous agreement concluded is due exclusively to top-brass sagacity. Our MPs are told of the dexterity with which the cards were shuffled. On the other hand, partners in the talks are told that the said manipulations are lawful.

To sum up, the transfer beyond the Urals from the European part of the USSR of 60,000 units of heavy ordnance is no violation of the treaty, as this was done before it was signed. However, it does betray intent, specifically of concealing large quantities of arms from reduction. Even if we take on trust what the military say to the effect that some amount of this weaponry is to be converted, while more will self-destruct in the open air.

Another reason has been devised to explain the Soviet reduction in the number of installations slated for inspection. This is that the personnel and weaponary the Soviet armed forces are presumably being modified in accordance with the adequate-for-defence doctrine. This means that the weaponry slated for inspection by the treaty is being withdrawn from some units to which it had been attached earlier, which is why these units will no longer be on the inspection list. One frankly finds it hard to imagine gunners without artillery or motorized infantry transported by jeeps and equipped with Kalashnikovs. Is that a strategic ruse too? Because the treaty specifies which units are subject to inspection and given the desire arms subject to reduction can be transferred to an installation not subject to control.

The military are as proud as peacocks. They have discovered juridical loopholes. But when such malpractices are added up, we get not simply the treaty's violation, but its complete emasculation.

But could these manoeuvres be for some supreme national security interest?

Let me first note that thereby we simply create a precedent, a way of getting round the treaty. Suppose similar numbers of "naval" tanks are attached to the coast guards of the twenty or so other states? The USSR would then find itself faced by multiple superiority in such weaponry.

I greatly doubt that, given the continued Soviet stance chiefly as regards tanks, the treaty in question will be ratified by 21 of the 22 states concerned. Moreover, in this situation, even its reference to parliamentary ratification would be suicidal for many national leaders. Indeed, everyone will realize that if one country, the Soviet Union in this case, has evolved ways and means of circumventing the treaty surely others could follow suit. So why sign it generally? Why waste so much energy and enormous resources on perennial negotiation?

Before the culprits are shown up years will pass. I am almost convinced that Moscow will blame the "intransigent" West for everything. Do the few extra hundreds of tanks mean so much to it?

But how can one trust a person if he says one thing and does another? How can one trust a nuclear power if it cheats and is proud of doing so?

If the treaty is not ratified, Germany's commitment to halve its armed forces becomes invalid.

The demise of an agreement placing so substantial a foundation under the overall edifice of European security and cooperation, under a united Europe, under normal East-West relations will impel conservatives all over the world to fault their respective governments for this "bad" treaty for their myopia in respect to Moscow. In that case the pendulum of world politics will swing to the right and Moscow will be responsible for a new round of confrontation.

Our current tank dispute is not directed, in effect, against the military. It merely reflects an ideological offensive against perestroika, one more attempt by the agonizing System to take revenge, to instill in society a siege mentality, populated by the image of internal and external foes. To which end it is tanks and only more tanks that are required.

The one and only man who can put paid, at least to the tank saga, is the President of the USSR as the Commander-in-Chief. He is the only man who can today issue the order to abandon those extra tanks and thus rescue the treaty and, in effect, the policy of the new thinking.

Thou shalt not make a graven tyrant...

An authoritarian road to democracy is good in theory, but will not work here

Boris Orlov
D.Sc. (History)

In his writings, Andranik Migranian, expresses views of those representatives of our fledgeling political science who having borrowed concepts and methodology from the Western politology (which is to be praised) are trying to apply them to new-found political realities here. Politological games with conservatives, democrats and radicals on the outside appear convincing and attract the attention of Western experts (since arguments are carried on in what appears to be their native language) but do not always correspond to reality. It often turns out that our political scientists write about one thing, while life carries on according to its own laws, laws much different from those in the West.

However, on the basis of this politological, and, in my view, scholastic juggling, conclusions are drawn which are proposed to politicians as justified and, even more than that, essential measures to be taken. One of these conclusions so reached is of the need for authoritarian rule which was echoed by Migranian (*NT* No. 2, 1991). Not long ago, it was possible to regard such advice as not representative, but as simply one of many points of view. But today, as the party-administrative apparat works out scenarios according to which to return to well-tried methods of creating parallel organs of power even if blood-shed is required, scientifically explained methods of rule seem at the very least uncontemporary.

Migranian doesn't like what democratically-minded politicians are doing and constantly speaks at them didactically, telling them what works and what does not. But should we back away from reality? We do not yet have genuine democracy, merely a small dose thereof, as the main levers of authority remain in the hands not of democratically elected organs but those who control the issue from behind the scenes, working out the aforementioned scenarios and strengthening them with the army and organs of repressions.

The democrats were not taught politology in colleges and perestroika came upon them out of the blue. In the course of this basically new and in many aspects unclear process, they try to get themselves into the Guinness book of world records. After 70 years of self-destruction and self-isolation they want to find a way out of a state of totalitarian anabiosis by their own efforts and turn back onto the main pike of civilization. One is reminded that another totalitarian regime – German fascism – which also arose on its own existed for 12 years before it was destroyed by the Allies and a democratic regime was set up in West Germany with the help of the occupying powers.

At the start of perestroika, a conviction was formulated, one that was shared by democrats, that the power held by the party apparat should be transferred to the Soviets, in this way returning to the starting position of 1917. In practice it turned out merely that the party bosses took the chairmanship of the various Soviets, or occupied both posts – in the party and the Soviets. But that was only half the trouble.

The Soviets all these years have existed merely as a smoke-screen behind which the totalitarian authorities of the party apparat could hide, while their real function was of little concern to anyone. Now that an attempt is being made to transform them into functioning organs of authority, it has become clear that the initial ideas as to their form, as proposed by Lenin (who got the idea from classic Marxists who championed the Paris Commune), was an attempt to combine all the functions of power – legal, executive and control functions – in one. In real life, such a system does not and cannot work. Today's democrats are attempting to rid themselves of the unwanted features of the Soviets at many levels in an attempt to find a solution which would allow them to exercise authority in the interests of the people. In what political science textbooks can they find the answers to these questions?

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

Are in any measure those models which have been created by the world's politology and sociology applicable to our society? The main figures in today's perestroika are a third generation of people raised under totalitarianism. They are used to double-think, a phenomenon yet to be described in the literature. It is the representatives of this third generation who are trying to rid itself of "totalitarian-stupefied slaves," the results of which have been far from consistent.

This stupefied generation

was drawn into cooperating with various structures of the totalitarian regime which created in society a siege-mentality and forced the entire productive segment of society to serve the ends of militarization – by serving in the army and in the military-industrial complex. Tens of millions of people are to this day still working in these industries – almost the entire engineering and technical core of the brain of society. Whom are these people to be lumped in with? The left? The right? A situation has arisen which requires new solutions.

There are other problems connected with this as well. Secret objects, bases and garrisons are strewn all across the country. And, if you add to this all the military personnel and their families returning from duties in Eastern Europe... Those who continue working at rocket factories and those manning guns more and more realize that the country has no external enemies and that their services are no longer of use to the public. How will people forced to rethink their position in light of this process choose to behave? How will they act politically?

And how can one ascribe to traditional politology the fact that all these years the political map has been irresponsibly reshaped time and again? Thousands of people, and even whole peoples, have been moved from one end of the country to the other. All this set up enormous difficulties when the peoples who have suffered under totalitarian rule attempted to reacquire a sense of national dignity. Attempts by the centre to bring these people into conflict with that segment of the population which was displaced as a result of these policies is unfair demagoguery.

These are the sore spots of contemporary society. Is it not clear that we are a profoundly sick society which can take only the most carefully weighed political prescriptions?

Andranik Migranian proposes the following authoritarian road to democracy: "It is necessary first to carry out changes in the economy, ...to link society together and create the nucleus of civil society. Only after that, a reform of the political system can be begun."

This is how the authoritarian scenario goes! But who can be so sure that the people will agree to play the role of a herd to be shifted about from one pasture to another by authoritarian herders raising everyone up to a higher level? People want to live a normal life here and now and they have demonstrated their will clearly enough in elections.

Migranian is put off by the "parade of sovereignties." "Many politicians and journalists dabbling in politics," he says, "are far from understanding the nature of power in general and the nature of statehood in particular."

This is absolutely right. The political scientists have not looked at their textbooks and have certainly not read de Tocqueville. But they want to come to feel themselves to be people as quickly as possible and not continue to be puppets of the centre. Skirmishes are unavoidable at first. Whatever the case may be, what we are talking about is an enormous country the territory of which encompasses more than one-hundred different nationalities. But life has begun to instruct us as to what to do. Horizontal ties have already sprung up between regions and the range of problems to be solved by the centre has happily become narrower. Instead of orders issued from the centre, we can see autonomous self-regulation of interests. The task of politicians, political scientists and advisors should be to strive to ensure that this process develops not on an authoritarian but on a democratic basis.

But even if one for a moment allows that the Migranian scenario is realizable, where, given the continuing predominance of the Communist Party, are we to find an "enlightened authoritarian ruler" who would adhere to this scenario and what follows from it, namely digging the grave of the apparat which knows how to run things only by totalitarian methods?

In my view, the political process, which is continuing to involve more and more people (and was given a new impetus by events in the Baltic Republics) is developing along democratic lines and the time has come when, having used up all that can be gained from "democracy in doses," society is ready to establish a true democracy with all the attributes of power. A new step must be taken forward, not just a step but a shift to a qualitatively new state of being. And it is essential not only that it be made according to principles of democracy and a respect for law, but also that those forces now trying to destabilize the present situation be forced to observe these laws and principles. It is a task of great complexity, one which requires the utmost of tact, stamina and political flair.

In such a situation what is not needed is gloating over the miscalculations of democratically-minded politicians, but wise, business-like and, most importantly, friendly advice.

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WAR IN THE GULF

Is Moscow on the wrong side?

At a recent plenum of the Party's Central Committee, members expressed their irritation most openly. They cannot accept the fact that the Soviet Union has sided with Israel and the United States. This is primarily an emotional reaction. The President's words that the US and the USSR are no longer enemies were understood by generals and high-placed officials as a diplomatic ruse, as a statement intended to play well with the world public. However, some of them find absolutely distasteful the prospect of being in one camp with Israel. No wonder that in our country Saddam Hussein is backed mainly by "professional" fighters against Zionism.

The new Foreign Minister, Alexander Bessmertnykh, was compelled to defend Soviet foreign policy at the Central Committee plenum. He did that in half-apologetic tones: of course, Moscow should have taken the side of its ally, that is, Iraq, but it was impossible to do so – the Soviet Union could not make such a choice.

Discontent with the President's Middle East policy is expressed not only by some members of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Many Soviets are confident that Saddam Hussein is a friend while the US and Israel are enemies of their country

Why Hussein is valued

Some uncertainty in the Foreign Minister's speech at the plenum indicates that six months after the occupation of Kuwait and one month after the war in the Gulf erupted, Soviet society is not unanimous in its assessment of current events and that two opposite vies exist here side by side.

Advocates of one view believe that by occupying Kuwait and threatening to capture Saudi Arabia, Saddam Hussein, whose rule has meant

Not only two armies but also two ideologies and two policies confront each other in the Persian Gulf. Can one rise above the conflict admonishing both sides?

"Why is the new world order reminiscent so much of the old world order?"

numerous bloody crimes against his own and neighbouring peoples, is now of danger to the world community as a whole. If he is not bridled, he could unleash a general war in the region, possibly with the use of weapons of mass destruction. Such a war would eventually involve the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. Iraq was given enough time to accept a peaceful solution and pull its troops out of Kuwait.

Washington was in, to some extent, a hopeless situation. If no action had been taken against Saddam Hussein, this would have given him to believe that he could go ahead with such a policy and remain unpunished. Any action against the Iraqi leader would bring about charges of being aggressive and provoke anti-war demonstrations which would immediately take on an anti-American character. A war was unleashed by Saddam Hussein by occupying Kuwait. The United States dealt a retaliatory blow to protect Saudi Arabia and drive Iraq out of Kuwait.

The advocates of the second view ignore the fact that the leader of the party with the name agreeable to them – Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath Party) – is a dictator and criminal. They value him as a fighter against imperialism and Zionism and as the leader of a friendly state. The seizure of Kuwait was a wrong step. But why should one feel sorry for the regime of sheikhs, which hates its own people? The Americans have unleashed a war with the aim of guaranteeing oil supplies for the United States and destroying Iraq and Saddam Hussein because this is what Israel demands.

Even today there is not enough reliable information about Iraq in this country. The information about the systematic extermination of Communists, opposition members or simply "untrustworthy" people by Saddam Hussein and the use of chemical agents against insurgent Kurdish villages would perhaps dampen the ardent love of some people for Hussein the "astute politician," while the possibility of Hussein being able to threaten the use of chemical and even nuclear weapons (near the Soviet Union's southern borders) would probably lessen resentment for the Israeli action destroying Baghdad's nuclear potential in 1981.

Why Americans need the Gulf

Most likely these arguments will produce no effect whatever on those who think in a different way. By turning away from Iraq, we lose a staunch ally and hint to others that they cannot rely on us, they argue. The war in the Persian Gulf enables the United States to confirm its position as the sole remaining superpower as the Soviet Union is losing any weight or influence it once had in the Middle East. It is equally losing its allies on a regional and international scale.

Is this actually the case? A frank question should be asked; what are the national interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Middle East? It is easy to formulate traditional American interests.

First, a regular supply of oil not only to the United States, which is safely protected against interruptions, but also to its allies – West European countries and Japan. True, the reliability of oil supply does not depend very much on what regime comes to power, because all oil-producing states need dollars.

Second, the United States has always tried to keep the Soviet Union from establishing its own control over oil-producing states in the Middle East, suspecting that Moscow could incite them to action against the West.

Third, the United States needs stability in the region because revolutions, coups and wars could shatter peace in the Middle East and draw other countries into a conflict.

Fourth, the United States is interested in the prosperity of countries with which it has a special relationship, namely, with Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia as well as Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Sudan and Oman.

During the Carter presidency, Washington arrived at the conclusion that it should be prepared to rapidly deploy troops in the Persian Gulf if necessary. The Reagan administration stated that the Persian Gulf is of prime importance to the United States as a zone of its interests. Reagan said in 1981 that Washington would not allow Saudi Arabia to become another Iraq, that is, a radical anti-Western state. If the countries in the region are unable to defend themselves against aggression the United States will have to intervene in any conflict.

Naturally, ten years ago Washington could not predict that Saddam Hussein would attack its neighbours. At that time it was afraid of Soviet aggression, which seemed quite possible after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The programme of arms deliveries to Saudi Arabia was carried out by Washington even in defiance of Israel. Saudi Arabia and other countries of the region reconstructed their airfields and bases so that, if necessary, they could be used by the United States.

What the Arabs expect from Moscow

Washington's interests in saving Saudi Arabia and Kuwait coincided with the desire of the world community to check the aggressor. And what about the Soviet Union?

In the past Moscow tried to win over as many countries as possible, establishing

its influence in the region and ousting Americans from it. After the Seven-Day War of 1967, Arab countries, shocked by the routing of their armies, applied to Moscow for aid. Massive arms deliveries, military advisers, economic aid and unreserved political support of the Arab world enhanced the Soviet Union's role in the region. But this period did not last long. Ideological cooperation, on which Khrushchev counted, could not be established. The Islamic world spurned communist ideas. Communists were killed or thrown into prison. The leaders of the Soviet Communist Party shut their eyes to these facts. "Socialist-oriented" nations felt that Moscow's economic advice was leading them to a disaster while the Soviet Union needed dollars too.

This does not mean that mutual understanding disappeared because they still had such common enemies such as the United States, Israel and Western influence. The military sphere became the main connecting link. The Soviet Union provided Arab countries with arms, instructors and military advisers. In periods of crisis, it sent even pilots and anti-aircraft gunners to Egypt and Syria.

Soviet pilots in Egypt. Moscow sent not only military equipment to President Nasser. Soviet aid was needed when the country sought war, not peace

However, military ties did not prove stable. Egypt moved away from the Soviet Union on seeing that it could not gain much from it. Moscow was unable to offer loans or help Cairo conclude a peace. President Sadat expelled Soviet military advisers, concluded the Camp David accords, and recovered the Sinai peninsula.

Syria preserved its military relations with Moscow. However, the degree of confidence and warmth in bilateral relations need not be overestimated. After all, Damascus could buy arms in other countries. The Soviet Union could not do anything more for it.

An episode described by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in his memoirs is indicative in this respect. It will be recalled that in 1974, flying from Damascus to Jerusalem and back, he secured an agreement on disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops on the Golan Heights.

Henry Kissinger and President Hafez Assad we completing work on a document as Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko was expected to arrive in Damascus. "At nine o'clock in the evening his plane was already over Damascus," Kissinger recalls with pleasure. "But at this time our work with Assad was in full swing. The chief of staff of the Syrian air force assured me it was not a problem. As a result, Gromyko's plane began to circle over the city. At 21:45, when the plane ran out of its fuel, I kindly consented to its landing provided the plane was taxied as far as possible from my own. The plane of the Soviet Foreign Minister was driven into a remote dark corner of the airfield, where Gromyko was greeted by a deputy of the Syrian Foreign Minister, because all higher-ranking officials were engaged in negotiations with me."

An ally for war

Soviet advisers were expelled not only from Egypt but also from Sudan. The phrase "Soviet-Arab friendship" was often mentioned in newspaper reports on meetings in the Kremlin between Soviet and Middle East leaders. It turned out however that Moscow did not make genuine friends in the region. Hatred for the United States and Israel proved an inadequate basis for a strong friendship with the Soviet Union.

When the leaders of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party seized power in Iraq in 1968, they divided the Arab world into a progressive camp led by Baghdad and a reactionary camp led by Saudi Arabia. Baghdad immediately began to threaten Arab monarchies. Saddam Hussein's predecessor, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, said that "we must begin a revolution in each Arab country."

However, the revolutionary phraseology which pleased the Kremlin leaders of the time was soon replaced by a purely nationalist policy. Saddam Hussein quietly parted with principles he had declared only recently. Baghdad asserted in the 1970s that "the Palestinian question is the core and essence of the Arab revolution." In the 1980s, Iraq was concerned with its own interests only. The financial pressure compelled Saddam Hussein to establish relations with Saudi Arabia, which he damned until that time. Hussein vowed that he would not restore relations with the United States as long as it backed Israel. Nevertheless, he did restore relations with Washington.

What was the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East? There are allies for peace and for war. The Arab world needed the USSR as a counterweight to the US, as a supplier of arms for the struggle against Israel. From the very outset, the Soviet Union has been an ally for war.

Backing the most radical Arab regimes, Moscow understood how widely the flames of Middle East war can spread. The Arab world was angry with Moscow precisely because even in Brezhnev's time it did not want to go with the radicals all the way. The Soviet-Egyptian relations deteriorated first when Sadat was not given all the weapons he asked for the Yom Kippur war in 1973. Soviet-Iraqi relations became cool after Moscow refused to support Baghdad's attack on Iran.

A second-rate power

In each case the Arabs demanded that Moscow intervened in Middle East conflicts directly. The policy of Gorbachev, who gave up attempts to compete with the United States on a global scale, has lessened the possibility of a new Arab-Israeli war.

It turned out that, generally speaking, the interests of the USSR and the US in the Middle East do not contradict because both superpowers are interested in the maintenance of peace and stability there, in the settlement of all conflicts by political means.

Does this mean that the Soviet Union is destined to play the role of a second-rate power in the Middle East? The role and weight of a state are determined by its economic and diplomatic achievements. The Soviet Union can be on a par with the United States only in arms deliveries. It is unable to give assistance in economic development or act as a mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Foreign policy always relies on domestic policy and must conform with the real interests and needs of the people. The pouring of arms into the Middle East, the instigation of confrontation, recruiting satellites, and pitting of one country against another bring no benefit to the people. Of course, certain political forces see nothing bad in an alliance with Saddam Hussein. But can our country benefit from its alliance with the dictator

and reckless gambler who is prepared to destroy the world?

Gorbachev's Middle East policy has drawn nearer to the genuine interests of the people. It has become independent. In the last few years the Soviet position has been determined only in Moscow, not in Damascus, Tripoli or Baghdad.

If the latest outburst of sympathy for Saddam Hussein (demonstrated, for instance, by some members of the Party's Central Committee) is transformed into directives for diplomats, Soviet foreign policy will again lose its independence. Moscow's separate position will be hailed in Baghdad and probably in other capitals which will try to draw our country into an unseemly political game. The Soviet Union will only suffer from such a position.

"The aggressor only gains from a policy of appeasement. The world has understood this only by paying a heavy price for the Munich deal of 1938. Of course, the aggressor is wise enough to advance his demands in a seemingly reasonable form." These words, uttered by Iraq's Deputy Foreign Minister Nizar Hamdoun several years ago, can well be applied to Iraq itself. The appeasement of Saddam Hussein can lead to a disaster that will go beyond the bounds of the region.

Leonid Mlechin

Photo and drawing from Newsweek (USA) and Der Spiegel (Germany)

Kuwait is not far away

What's a Czechoslovak battalion doing in the Arabian desert?

Sergeant Petr Simonka died in the Arabian desert in the wee hours of the night as his parents, relatives and friends slept peacefully in his native Czecho-Slovakia. He did not fall in battle but was killed, as the Czechoslovak defence ministry reported, as a result of mishandling fire-arms during a battle alarm.

The 169-man chemical defence battalion arrived from Czecho-Slovakia in mid-December and was deployed in Saudi Arabia 500 km from Riyadh. Up to 30 more specialists will apparently be sent to reinforce the battalion.

Czecho-Slovakia's contribution might seem insignificant to some of my compatriots. However, it has been made, though this country is far away from the area of the conflict and its prosperity has not been affected by it. It should be noted that it is first-class specialists who have been dispatched to the Middle East.

Czecho-Slovakia is not in a state of war with Iraq. It is merely in "a state of hostility" with that country, as a foreign ministry spokesman put it. What does this subtlety in international law mean? Incidentally, far from all share this point of view. The Slovak justice minister spoke out more clearly. "A situation of a concrete military conflict has arisen," he said. It will be recalled that the President and the government approved the actions of allied troops against the aggressor right from the start.

A salesman from a bookshop in the Zlata Ulicka, situated in a small house in which Franz Kafka lived and worked, told me that "the death of Petr Simonka is a price we have paid for selling arms to Iraq." It is perhaps the first time that the society which declared a return to Europe, the civilized world, as its main goal and is indeed moving towards this goal has realized that it is an integral part of the international community.

Incidentally, this realization came earlier when [illegible] from the Soviet Union began to operate erratically. It suddenly turned out last year that, contrary to assurances and without any warning, Moscow could reduce the oil supply and even interrupt it for one or two days. What should be done by a small country which, like a patient, [illegible] pipe – in this case to a fuel pipe of a giant partner and nobody else? References of the partner to its own difficulties did not make things easier. Czecho-Slovakia felt that it would be strangled.

Some of my compatriots, who do not want to abandon great-power principles easily, gloated over the misfortune of the neighbouring country. I observed such rejoicing myself.

Czecho-Slovakia survived days when its economy was on the verge of disaster. True, the crisis was settled and guarantees were given. But early in October the Czechs and Slovaks felt a shock. Gaining political freedom from their "elder brother," they once again felt harsh dependence on the Soviet Union.

The question of oil supply has again emphasized Czecho-Slovakia's dependence, and it urgently began to look for a way out. The agreements with the Soviet Union have been backed up by the [illegible] of new oil [illegible] through West Germany and Austria, the purchase of [illegible] in Morocco and Algeria. Czecho-Slovakia took these measures aware of the fact that it is an economic element in the world community, and not only of the former socialist community.

[illegible] emphasized that Czecho-Slovakia is both an economic and political element of the world community. A country should act accordingly if it wants become part of Europe and the civilized world. Czecho-Slovakia did not question such a need even for a minute. It has come to the conclusion that its fate depends on the whole.

The news of the death of its young citizen has upset this quiet country. Czechs and Slovaks are seriously concerned about the type of weapons Iraq is preparing to use against Israel. They grieve for the death of people killed by bombs and missiles and the birds dying on the oil slick. They also calculate how many hours will be needed for poisonous clouds to reach Czecho-Slovakia even under unfavourable conditions.

The war in the Gulf has prompted the government and the parliament to draft and discuss a law on the threat to the state and take a number of protective [illegible] such a law and protective measures were also prompted by tragic events in the Soviet Baltic republics and the expected invasion of migrants from the USSR after the adoption of a law of free travel.

Leonid Kornilov,

PRAGUE

Is Moscow helping Baghdad?

On February 4 *The Washington Times* carried an article which (referring to US intelligence sources), revealed that "Soviet advisers in Iraq provide Saddam Hussein's military with information about the times US spy satellites pass overhead, U.S. intelligence sources said.

The information provided by the Soviets is helping Iraq to hide the more than 100 mobile Scud missile-launchers that have evaded US and allied air strikes.

The information on the Soviet action was gathered from what the sources described as an "extremely sensitive source," a term often used to describe communications intercepts. The Soviet Defense Ministry has denied that its advisers are helping the Iraqi military and a ministry statement last month said all the advisers left the country by Jan. 9.

But US intelligence agencies estimate about 150 military advisers volunteered to remain in Iraq to service Soviet-made equipment.

There are also more than 40 Soviet diplomats posted at the embassy in Baghdad, including at least half that are believed to be KGB or GRU military intelligence officers.

Publicly, the Soviets have maintained a position that appears to support the allied coalition against Iraq. But Soviet military and intelligence hard-liners are believed to have been secretly supporting the Iraqi military with intelligence data and logistical support for advanced Soviet-made weapons in the Iraqi arsenal.

"The Soviets appear to be playing a double game," said a US intelligence official. "It's fair to say that with the resurgence of the hard-line military, which has long historical ties to Iraq, we're watching that very closely."

US News and World Report, quoting US intelligence sources, also reported in the current edition that Soviet advisers were helping the Iraqi military with intelligence information.

Bush administration intelligence sources told *The Washington Times* last month that Soviet advisers were providing Iraq with information used to target Scud missiles fired at Israel and Saudi Arabia.

Are there any grounds for this allegation?

We phoned the press centre of the Soviet Defence Ministry. Its spokesman, Col. Vladimir Nikanorov, said:

"I categorically refute this allegation. There are no Soviet military advisers in Iraq today. The last military specialist left the country before hostilities began – on January 9, 1991. Only staff members of the Soviet embassy are still in Iraq.

Can the information about US spy satellites be passed on? In the opinion of Alexander Zakharov, scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Space Research, it is "technically possible." He said that we could get more detailed information at the Flight Control centre.

Yuri Kolesnikov, a member of the centre's press group, flatly refused to comment on *The Washington Times* report, saying "the matter is dealt by the defence ministry."

Sergei Gorbunov, a press service officer of the space units at the defence ministry, said:

I can neither confirm nor deny this information. Our organization is not concerned with the matter. We only launch and control vehicles supplied to us. But we are not the owners of these vehicles. What tasks the vehicles carry out and for whom they operate depends on whom they are subordinated to. The question of gathering information and of who receives it should be cleared up at the press service of the defence ministry.

Sergei Gorbunov expressed the opinion that the thread would finally lead to the Main Intelligence Department (GRU).

General Vladlen Mikhailov, chief of the Main Intelligence Department of the Armed Forces General Staff, said:

I can't say anything about Soviet weapons or specialists, because my department is concerned with quite different tasks. As for space intelligence, I can say that in accordance with a decision of the government and the defence ministry, space intelligence data are not passed on to anyone. We did not pass on these data even to our former Warsaw Treaty allies. I should add, however, that Baghdad applied to us asking us to provide space intelligence data for it. But we categorically refused.

We phoned General Yevgeny Smirnov, chief of the tenth Main Department of the Armed Forces General Staff. His department deals with the delivery of armaments and sends military experts for work abroad.

The Washington Times **report is absolute nonsense, Gen. Smirnov said. The last Soviet specialist left Iraq on the night of January 9 to 10. No one even expressed a desire to remain there. It is not the first time that misinformation of this kind has appeared. We firmly and strictly adhere to the provisions of the Security Council resolution. We stopped our deliveries as soon as Iraq began its aggression against Kuwait.**

What's the difference between a military adviser and a military specialist?

An adviser gives advice on how to fight and use weapons and other military equipment. Therefore, he bears a certain responsibility. A specialist is responsible only for the technical maintenance of the military equipment and weapons supplied by our country, and nothing else. We have never had our advisers in Iraq, not even during its war with Iran. That's the whole point. Attempts are made to accuse us of what has never even been the case.

The attempts of our New York correspondent to obtain additional information from *The Washington Times, US News and World Report, The New York Times* and other periodicals, as well as in the CIA and the Pentagon did not prove successful. In the meantime the question of the Soviet Union leaking the information gathered by satellites to Iraq was raised in the Senate foreign relations committee. Secretary of State James Baker said unequivocally that he knew nothing about these or similar facts.

The oil barometer

Bleak prospects for the world economy

"You may not watch TV, listen to the radio or read the newspaper but at the same time keep abreast of developments in the Persian Gulf," one of my acquaintances, a Mexican businessman, assured me. "Simply, don't forget to look through the stock exchange news, especially the quotation of oil shares."

There is a certain exaggeration and, of course, professional snobbism in these words. Nevertheless, there is, a grain of truth to them. Mexico, which has found its place in the business world thanks mainly to the oil trade, is a unique country from which the war in the Gulf can be watched. In the morning, after the first news of successful air raids of multinational forces reached the American continent, horror-stricken holders of Mexican oil shares hurried to the local stock exchange. After oil prices at the New York Stock Exchange fell by more a third security immediately dropped in Mexico as well. During a single night only the price of Mexican oil dropped from $27 to 17 a barrel.

I do not know whether the report on the serious damage caused by allies to Iraq's offensive missile forces capable of destroying Saudi Arabia's oil storages came as a surprise to military strategists. But it was obviously shocking news to businessmen. It knocked the stability out of world oil prices on the first day of the war, as the forecasts made by research companies with an international reputation on the eve of hostilities testified to the opposite. For instance, the London-based Economist Intelligence Unit, well known to the Mexican business, believed that as a result of hostilities in the Persian Gulf oil prices could jump to 55 dollars a barrel during the first quarter of this year.

In the opinion of British experts this could produce a medium-term effect on the world economy. The economy of most countries would experience a decline even after the ending of hostilities (to last for three months only, according to the economist Intelligence Unit), when the world oil price is expected to reach a stable $24 a barrel. A decline would not be avoided either by oil exporters because of exorbitantly high interest rates and a drop in the demand for fuel in industrial countries. The world would not completely overcome the economic consequences of the war in the Gulf until 1994.

It is interesting to note that in drawing up a state budget for the current year, the Mexican government based its policies on an average price of $17 a barrel (Mexican oil is sold at a price lower than the world average). It seems that in view of a sharp drop in fuel prices the Salinas cabinet has begun to make preparations for worse times ahead.

The privately-owned research firm Macro Asesoria economica told me that the government was examining the possible consequences to the national economy of a drop in the price of Mexican oil to $11 a barrel. The consequences can be very serious: direct losses could amount to $2.5 billion. Some socio-economic programmes will be imperilled, especially the "social pact" designed to check inflation, in particular by restraining the exchange rate of the Mexican peso in relation to the US dollar.

As we see, with some distinctions, both economic forecasts predict unpleasant results. That is why Mexicans are beginning to think about possible new ways of influencing the Middle East crisis by political means. It is said, for instance, that many countries have already tried, though without success, to act as mediators with a view toward avoiding military operations. There must be a new peace-maker therefore, and the Mexican President can play such a role.

Indeed, the White House may pay heed to the advice of Carlos Salinas. He has quite good relations with President Bush. Baghdad may also lend an ear to his opinions, as Mexico's independent foreign policy enjoys some trust in the Third World.

Experts of the firm spoke about the need for the Soviet Union to participate in measures designed to stabilize world oil prices. They think that as a major exporter of liquid fuel the USSR could take part in OPEÇ talks aimed at cutting the world output of oil the surplus of which on the world market has also contributed to a fall in its price.

Incidentally, experts at the American corporation Business International estimate that the rise of the world price of oil by one dollar would bring the Soviet Union an additional income of 600 million dollars a year. The same team of experts noted however that confusion created by "a low level of management" continued to prevail in Siberian oil field this year. In their opinione Moscow should follow the world oil barometer more carefully.

Yuri Kudimov,

our own correspondent

MEXICO

Farewell to the ICP

Carlo Benedetti

In a sense history, is repeating itself. Seventy years ago in Livorno, an Italian city on the Tyrrhenian Sea, a faction of Communists walked out of the congress of the Italian Socialist Party and established the Italian Communist Party. This time the setting is different: the drama is taking place on another sea, the Adriatic, in the sea resort of Rimini which looks gloomy and deserted in winter. Rimini was the site of the last congress of the Italian Communist Party. The ICP died to be revived under a new name – Partito Democratico della Sinistra, the Democratic Party of the Left. Most delegates of the congress voted in support of the new name. The symbols of the party were changed too. Now the traditional Hammer and Sickle are to be seen in the roots of a green oak-tree. The conclusion of the congress was a moving moment loaded with tears and smiles. This time – just as in 1921 – a faction of delegates walked out, in protest against the decision to form the DPL and declared it would set up a new Communist Party. The congress was the climax of the painful search of paths to a renewal. There was much to remember and much to think of in this connection. In addition, Rimini is a good place for reflection.

A Fellini-like drama

Rimini is the location of Fellini's famous film, *Amarcord*, the name of which is derived from the local pronunciation of "mi ricordo." "I remember." Thanks to the great master, the word is now known throughout the world. Rimini's hosting of the 20th congress of the ICP, which was as dramatic as the 20th congress of the CPSU, is a good reason to start shooting *Amarcord 2*. The congress raised many hopes, but nonetheless the party's future looks foggy; in other words, the situation is very close to what Fellini had described in his film.

The hall of the congress was decorated in an unusual manner by a specially hired architect and designer. The very special congress required an untraditional interior. That is why there was no elevation for the presidium in the hall. "No politburos!" the architect said. Complete equality. The rest was the headache of the director of the congress, Achille Occhetto, secretary of what used to be the ICP. Occhetto is a career Communist Party apparatchik who has climbed all the way to the top of the party hierarchy. He was the leader of the young Communists at the Milan University, then served as secretary of the National Federation of Young Communists (which had dissolved even earlier than the ICP). Occhetto had been preened for a party career by Palmiro Togliatti himself. Later he became the leader of Italian Communists and engineered the party's transformation at the 20th congress.

l'Unità

W IL 1° MAGGIO

Avanza la causa dell'unità della democrazia e del socialismo: l'Italia va a sinistra

VITTORIA

PCI 7.763.854 alla Camera Oltre un milione in più

1963: "Victory!", *L'Unita's* article about the election returns

The transforming operation was a difficult one to perform. Many obstacles had to be overcome and Occhetto's viewpoint had to be promoted and propagated both at the top echelons of the party and among the grass-roots, in the context of the complicated and unstable political situation in today's Italy. The rapid changes in East European countries dramatically and painfully affected the process of the ICR's renewal. From the very start of the policy that was later called Eurocommunism, the ICP has advocated ideology-free paths to social renewal. The party faced the necessity to seek new allies, to reach new horizons and to take new decisions. The Rimini resolution was not the result of a face-lift reform, as it would otherwise seem.

Said Occhetto shortly before the 20th congress: "I have also experienced feelings which moved me to suggest that the party's name and image be changed. I have also faced the dilemma of having to combine the necessity of renewing the party and my love for the party, of whose glorious history, achievements, failures and heroes I did not want to forget. Nonetheless a radical reform of the party was necessary and inevitable. In fact, the reform should have been accomplished earlier... Were it not for this reform, we would have been buried under the ruins of the regimes of Ceausescu, Honecker and their likes, although, as I have repeatedly stressed, Italian Communists have always been something very different. Thanks to this reform, we succeeded in reshaping our party in harmony with what is going on in Europe and the whole world.

Gramsci the reformer

Thus the congress of the Italian Communists became a crucial turning point. In a sense, it was a resolute parting with the past. What is the message of the last congress of the ICP which was also the first congress of the newly-formed DPL? The new Democratic Party of the Left, which is the successor to the ICP and the ICP's historical traditions, has emerged in the domestic and international political arena with a qualitatively new image. The basis of the recent political transformation is the ideological legacy of Antonio Gramsci whose centenary has recently been celebrated. The new interpretation of Gramsci's works introduces us to Gramsci the reformer who critically analysed the society he lived in and himself. The great Italian was a democrat and communist who opposed intrigues and schemes and who successfully rebuffed the intrigues of Stalin and local Stalinists while, ironically, being the prisoner of the Mussolini regime. The new DPL is rediscovering Gramsci the ideologue and many others who planted the oak-tree now chosen by Occhetto as the new party's emblem.

The new political organization will focus its activities on a number of other theoretical and practical problems. It views democracy as a way to socialism. At the same time it acknowledges the failure of the historical experience of Communism ("real socialism"). That is why Occhetto and other leaders of the former ICP attach a special importance to theoretical studies. DPL leaders have no doubts that the ex-

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perience of building Communism is bankrupt. At the same time they are aware of the mistakes and shortcomings of the traditional socio-democratic parties. That is why the Rimini congress discussed ways to overcome not only Communist ideas, but socio-democratic ones as well.

One is tempted to describe the option of the DPL as the widely advertised "third road," but opinions on this score differ. It looks like the DPL will be a reformist party sharing the ideas of Roosevelt and Roosevelt's New Deal policies. The DPL's policy will share the spirit of the American Left and is expected to open up new unexplored vistas for the DPL. This may be the main distinctive feature of Achille Occhetto, who is inclined to compromise and who formes his policies proceeding from the requirements of each concrete moment and day. On the whole, the organizational structure of the new party is intended to provide for a flexible leadership regime. The party's political apparatus will provide for the implementation of directives. There will also be a strategic, but not ideological, leadership. The new DPL can be described as a secular party pursuing its policies on the basis of concrete programmes.

New party – new problems

In practice, the DPL exceeds the confines of its traditional activities. In domestic matters, the party will seek cooperation with spontaneously appearing public movements which so far have been reluctant to establish a dialogue with the traditional parties. Another aspect of the party's activity is the question of women.

The DPL believes that women must directly participate in the political and social life of Italy. The new party will vastly rely on the support of women, in the primary organizations as well as in its leading bodies. Considerable attention will be attached to the pacifist movement and various branches of the ecological movement. It is no coincidence that, although the DPL supported the UN resolution on the Gulf crisis, the party led anti-war demonstrations demanding that the conflict be settled by purely diplomatic means.

Another new aspect of DPL activity will be the protection of civil rights and the problem of the individual's relations with the state and institutions of power. This is a very topical problem. Many of constitutional and legal conflicts will inevitably result from it. The DPL activites will promote the formation of new associations advocating the rights the state now refuses to grant to its citizens.

The party's relations with the Roman Catholic Church are an important element as well. The DPL is entering an absolutely new sphere of activities, because now it seems that the party will have to do business directly with the Pope. The DPL is carefully watching the Vatican's policies and actions. The ICP used to appeal to the "conscience" of Roman Catholic believers, but its successor, the DPL, will have to engage in political diplomacy. The influential Jesuit magazine, *La Civilta Cattolica*, devoted a big article to Occhetto and his reform of the ICP. It seems that the Jesuits have granted Occhetto a credit of trust which should not be underestimated. The article stresses that Occhetto "made a great stride forward when he put an end to the period of uncertainty and vaccilations," and "resolutely broke away from Communism as an ideology and practice." In general, the article lauds Occhetto for his having parted with the past and turned to "where it will be difficult to retreat."

As for international politics, it is only natural that the DPL has been attentively and sympathetically watching the progress of Gorbachev's perestroika. It is not coincidental, that Occhetto often quotes his "friend" Gorbachev and in every speech stresses the necessity to borrow the Kremlin's experience of renewal.

New trends are taking shape in Europe. Former Communists are busy studying Roosevelt.

"We are not Communists any more, are we, Dad?"
"No, but we will miss each other..."

Drawing by Altana of L'Unita

Fighting the octopus

Different political forces reacted to what happened at the 20th Congress of the ICP in different ways. The "Communist" faction, for instance, which is led by influential trade union leader, Sergio Garavini, the ICP Old Guard's Armando Cossutta and author Paolo Valponi, wants to revive the Communist Party and is actively recruiting "dissidents" in primary organizations of the DPL. Socialists from the Bettino Craxi party, to which the DPL gravitates, are not exactly pleased with the prospects of cooperation with the DLP. There is an acute conflict around the new party's possible joining of the Socialist International which Occhetto wants and Craxi resents.

Christian Democrats have not been too pleased with the emergence of the new party either. They think the new party's programme is too vague. They do not think much of Occhetto's pet policy of "changing the course."

The film in which Italy's political parties are starring, continues. Meanwhile, the Italian public is worried about what tomorrow may bring. The ICP and Eurocommunism are dead, the attempts to build a stable Socio-Democracy in Italy have been upset, and the Catholics' hopes to unite in a single party have been in vain. The only option left is to start experimenting. This is easily the DPL's main hope. Even before the Rimini congress, Achille Occhetto said: "We must fight the octopus of power." What does this mean? Very briefly put: the parties must spend less time solving administrative problems and devote more efforts to strategies, and Italian provinces must become really independent.

The CIA's dirty money?

Is it possible to destroy from the outside what has already collapsed from within?

"Imperialist conspiracy", "interference of Western special services", "subversive activity with the aim of destabilizing..."

Many other clichés of this kind could be cited. I thought they were now outdated. However, I heard them first from Colonel Alksnis at a recent session of the Soviet parliament and then found them in Defence Minister Yazov's article published in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. Both claim the inter-regional group of deputies and the Memorial Society have received money from the American fund in support of democracy, and this fund is allegedly connected with the CIA. We had the same situation in Poland ten years ago.

"Imperialist conspiracy" was one of the main devices used by Polish authorities in their propaganda against strikes in the summer of 1980 and the establishment of the independent trade union Solidarity. The same "bugbear" was used in the assessment of Polish events by propaganda in the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. It is not important now whether the device was invented by Polish ideologists or prompted by Moscow. The important thing is that this familiar mechanism was immediately put into operation. It worked simultaneously in two directions: the discrediting of the democratic movement and its leaders "financed by Western special services" and justification of possible "fraternal assistance."

Underwear from Moscow, presses from Washington

I talked with two persons who were in opposite camps at the time. Both of them have first-hand information. One was minister of information in the last communist government, and the other was one of the main dissidents under that government.

Jerzy Urban, a journalist and satirist, who brilliantly proves now that even after the ousting of the communist government the main mouthpiece – the minister of information – can remain popular thanks to his talent. We recalled the motives and content of the propaganda actions taken in Poland in the 1980s and agreed that similar methods are now used in the Soviet media.

"The truth is," Jerzy Urban said, "that every state finances, if it can, those movements in other countries which are within its sphere of interests. Today it is not apparently right for me as a private person to be indignant at Solidarity, now in power, for having received money from the West. When a people's democratic state was being formed in Poland, support from Moscow was more than evident. I remember (Urban said with a smile) how men's underpants sent from Moscow, scarce at that time, were distributed to our top officials in Lublin in the winter of 1944 while members of the government received their suits from Moscow. True, all of them were alike. Of course, the aid given in subsequent years was more substantial.

"From the very outset external aid to Solidarity was given by trade union centres, committees and funds of various kinds. They were used as channels for sending money from government agencies. It is possible that special services also provided subsidies for Solidarity, though direct evidence does not exist. Later on financing through government channels was not concealed. After the American committee in support of democracy was formed it began to receive money allocated by the US Congress. Though it was a rather modest sum, it came to one or two million dollars a year. The same amount came from other sources. Bearing in mind the results of these efforts, it can be said that it was a profitable investment for the United States. My weekly (magazine *Nie* – **R.B.)** wrote about a commission which recently worked in Gdansk. At the request of US Congress, it examined whether the funds received by Solidarity were used properly. The commission stated with satisfaction that the money was used for the proper purposes. As you can see, foreign auditors proved meticulous.

"Today external pressure acquires an economic colouring," Jerzy Urban went on. "The new government must promise not only to continue the Balcerowicz programme but also to ensure its author a high post in the present structures of power (Leszek Balcerowicz has retained his post of vice-premier and finance minister in the new government - **R.B.).** Intervention is carried out even in matters of appointment. It seems that the sovereignty of Poland is challenged again. The country is shifting from one orbit of external influence to another." (Incidentally, far from all Polish politicians will agree with this opinion of Jerzy Urban. Andrzej Micewski asserts, for instance, that it is not a matter of personalities. The aim is to guarantee the implementation of the programme initiated by Mazowiecki and Balcerowicz. – **R.B.)**

"Was external support decisive in the evolution of social processes in Poland?"

"Certainly not. The disintegration of so-called real socialism was not inspired by any forces in the West. Using the Marxist argument, we can say that relations of production which formed in the socialist economy have become a hindrance to technological and social progress. Such is the real cause of the break-up of the system.

"As for propaganda attempts to persuade the public that the opposition is backed up by dirty money, devices of this kind were employed more than once in Stalin's time. This is how the events in Hungary in 1956, the shooting of a workers' demonstration in Poznan, the "Prague Spring" of 1968, and the tragedy in Gdansk and Szczecin in 1970 were assessed at the time.

"Such an attitude was explained by reluctance of the authorities to admit the existence of internal social conflicts inherent in the system itself. Primitive references to imperialist schemes did not solve the problem. At best they delayed the eventual social explosion..."

Revolutions are not made by secret services

The other person I talked with is Adam Michnik, a historian, author and ideologist of Solidarity, a dissident who worked illegally for many years, and a political prisoner with a long record. Today he is the editor of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, one of the most authoritative periodicals having a mass circulation, and a Senator of the Polish parliament.

In his Alfabet, a best seller of 1990 of

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

which almost a million copies were sold, Jerzy Urban writes the following about Michnik: "As the press spokesman for the government, I always compared Michnik with Kuron and always regarded him as an incarnation of evil... I must admit that I am overwhelmed by the moral integrity of Michnik and his intellectual horizon." And in a sarcastic style peculiar to him, Urban adds: "I feel to be closely connected with Michnik in the sense that when he again goes to prison, I shall be hanged right after him."

I put the same questions to Adam Michnik – about the role of foreign interference, the "dirty" money, etc.

"Propaganda methods of this kind are characteristic of almost all apparatchiks who regard history as a chain of conspiracies. I once said in jest that dialectical matenalism had turned into detective materialism which sees the development of social contradictions as a war of intelligence services. Of course, intelligence and counter-intelligence services exist in the present-day world. However, it is a police rather than a political problem.

"When a social conflict is treated as a criminal and spy affair this can be interpreted as a return to Stalin's period, to the mentality of Stalinists. Incidentally, the US intelligence service also tended to explain the revolutionary processes in Latin America as the underhand plotting of KGB agents there. This does not mean that the KGB did not have its agents in Latin American countries. It is absurd to allege, however, that any agents can bring about mass revolutionary upheavals and, the more so, lead them to a victorious end.

"The re-appearance of such propaganda arguments in your country is a highly alarming fact, because till now I have had an impression that the Soviet leaders soberly assess the roots and dynamics of the social crisis in the USSR. Statements of this kind contradict common sense."

"The West sent printing machines to Poland as well as money, radio stations for illegal broadcasting..."

"It is true," Adam Michnik agreed. "But as far as I know, this aid came not from intelligence services but from trade unions and Poles living abroad. For instance, I received money from friends of Solidarity in other countries. I cannot assert that in the general flow of aid there was no money from intelligence services, because dollars do not bear the stamp 'Mailed by CIA'. However, I assert with full responsibility that Solidarity had no official contacts with foreign intelligence services. It did not reach agreements and did not assume unilateral or mutual commitments.

"It is possible that there were CIA or KGB agents among my associates, but this does not mean that Solidarity carried out a scheme devised by the CIA or KGB, especially if you remember that it was a mass organization with millions of members. Some external instigation is possible in the case of a small group of conspirators and terrorists like Red Brigades or the Baader-Meinhof group. However, when such a social force as Solidarity emerges in the scene and the powerful and totalitarian system begins to disintegrate, it is at least politically shortsighted to explain these processes by the activity of foreign agents."

In conclusion, let me quote one more judgement free of "detective" materialism and close to dialectical materialism. It was made by a scholar who was charged by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party with studying the anti-socialist influence of Western powers – from their propaganda to actions usually described in our lexicon as "subversive" – and who conducted his study till the last days of the communist regime in Poland.

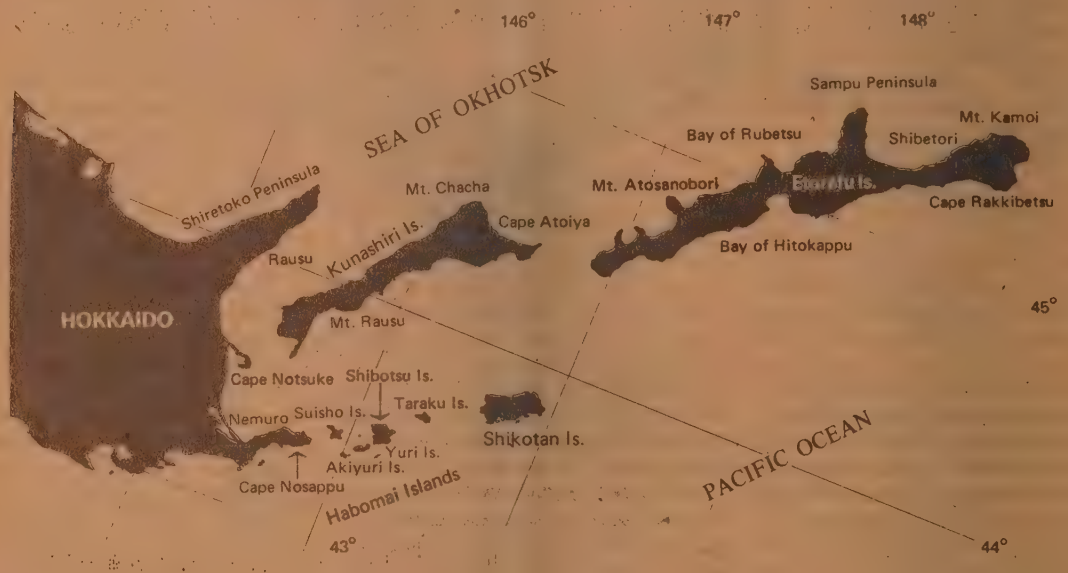
"Aid flowed from various sources," he writes. "It included money and radio transmitters which had never been produced in quantity. But, as the course of events showed, the source and volume of aid do not have real meaning and effect in the final count. What matters is whether aid comes at the right time to support mass movements – the sentiments and aspirations of the people."

Rudolf Borecki,
own correspondent

WARSAW

The Northern Territories: To cede or not to cede

Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to visit Tokyo in April. Japan hopes that as a result of Gorbachev's visit, Soviet-Japanese relations will be completely normalized and a peace treaty will at last be concluded. At the same time Tokyo insists that a peace treaty is impossible without the return to Japan of the Northern Territories: the four southern Kuril islands – Iturup, Kunashir, Habomai and Shikotan



The four islands dispute

The relations with Japan are the last relic of the diplomacy of the past. That is why this problem is so difficult to solve

Today both sides recognize the territorial question as a problem, but approaches to it are different. One big difference is the significance the sides attach to the problem: Moscow refuses to regard the islands problem as a top-priority one. At the same time, Tokyo believes this problem is crucial and an indispencible prerequisite to a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty and a normalization in bilateral relations. As for the ways to solve the problem, the sides are completely antagonistic: Tokyo insists that the four islands be returned, Moscow rebuffs such claims as completely groundless. As official information about Mikhail Gorbachev's talks with Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama suggests, Moscow and Tokyo are only unanimous when they define the territorial question as "the most difficult aspect of the elaboration of the peace treaty."

The Soviet Foreign Ministry seems to have run out of arguments in the endless debate with its Japanese counterpart; the same is true about the Japanese diplomacy.

Experts who study the problem have long learned the proofs offered by each side by heart. As a result a stalemate situation set in, one in which no side can persuade the other to adopt its position. Moreover, the very problem has started to be seen as one defying any solution.

In my opinion, the text-book arguments that the Kurils belong to the USSR because they had been discovered, described, explored, populated and annexed first by Russians are summarily no more convincing than similar arguments from the Japanese side, while the latter are not strong enough to demolish Soviet evidence either.

Just as groundless are attempts made by both sides to portray the expansion to the Kurils as guided by the purest intentions and to inject

a rosy hue into the history of Russian and Japanese policies vis-á-vis the Kurils.

From the point of view of international law, the Kurils were partly assigned to Japan by the 1855 Shimoda Treaty and completely – by the 1875 St. Petersburg Treaty. Moscow insists Russia was forced into accepting both treaties, but Tokyo points at international law which commands that treaties be honoured. The Soviet Union maintains that the four islands come under the jurisdiction of the 1943 Cairo Declaration of the Allies which said that "Japan will... be expelled from all other territories which she had taken by violence and greed." Tokyo objects that Japan had taken the Northern Territories by means other than those mentioned in the Declaration. Moreover, legality of the Allies' post-war recarving of the world has long been questioned. According to the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan renounced its claim to the Kurils, but no international legal document specifies either the acceptor of the islands nor what is generally meant by the word "Kurils" (this gives Japan grounds to demand the islands back, claiming they are not actually a part of the Kurils). Besides this, Japan claims that when Moscow pledged to return Habomai and Shikotan to Japan in the 1956 Joint Declaration, it backpedalled on its promise only four years later.

Soviet scientists participated in the discussion of the territorial issue on what I would describe as a selective basis. As might have been expected, scientists who shared the official Soviet stance provided conclusions that played into the hands of Moscow. No critical study of the problem has been undedrtaken and no independent experts have ever been invited to examine the problem and publish the findings of such an examination.

Meanwhile, both Japan and the Soviet Union have a great number of settlement schemes tailored for the territorial issue, which include such plans as demilitarization of the Northern Territories, Joint Soviet-Japanese economic exploration, UN trusteeship and the establishment of a favourable travel regime for citizens of both countries. An in-depth study of such plans could help single out the most rational ideas and combine them in a mutually acceptable settlement.

As for Soviet public opinion, people in the USSR are either poorly informed or know nothing of the issue. Habitually, all Japanese arguments are just brushed aside. The Soviet-Japanese relations will not be normalized until the Soviet side has stopped claiming that Japanese policies "are expressly characterized by the desire to contain the development of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries." At the core of the problem is Japan's "artificial linkage of good intentions vis-à-vis this country and territorial claims which are far from good," that Japanese claims are groundless because "they do not take into account the results of the Second World War," that the Soviet Union will not "make unilateral concessions to the Japanese territorial claims" and "will not yield to Japanese pressure," that the Japanese claims can not be accepted by the USSR and that there is no hope that such claims may some day be satisfied. This logic advocated by some in the Soviet media leaves no room for any desire to understand the opposing party. Moreover, this logic deceives people and produces a public opinion opposed to better Soviet-Japanese relations. Unilateral formation of public opinion in support of the official viewpoint generates statements to the effect that the islands are "Russian from time immemorial, they may not be traded for economic hand-outs and that if Moscow dares to concede to Japan "the Soviet people will take up arms to defend the Kurils."

The dispute over the Northern Territories began after Japanese strongholds were stormed

A stalemate situation has appeared not around the territorial issue as a whole, but rather in relations betrween the two foreign ministries. It is of a subjective rather than an objective character. Moscow's renewed strategy vis-à-vis the territorial issue must, in my opinion, be based on the principles of scientific analysis and openness. It must stipulate a broad participation of the scientific community – this, by the way, may help guide the Soviet Foreign Ministry out of this stalemate and dispell the charms of the Foreign Ministry's years-old creed.

First and foremost, it is important to understand that Japanese demands for the return of the Northern Territories come from a massive public movement and that it is stupid to blame "a clique of revanchists" or "egoistic political ambitions of some fringe political groups." This in turn presumes that we must recognize the territorial issue as the top priority problem on the way to a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty: naturally if we want to develop bilateral relations and not to prolong the stalemate (perhaps there are such political calculations as well?).

Soviet studies of the territorial issue made so far cannot be viewed as comprehensive. It is necessary to start a fundamental and completely objective investigation of the problem and to declare that preconditions exist for the solution of the problem, no variant is unacceptable if it is really scientific, and that any such variant will be politically acceptable and supported by the public opinion.

Practical steps could be taken after that. Moscow could recognize the territorial issue as the No. 1 problem, agree that this problem must be solved as soon as possible and confirm its adherence to the 1956 Joint Declaration.

In such conditions, scientists could

start working out the historical and international legal aspects of the settlement and analyzing the numerous settlement schemes which have been formed in Japan's public and scientific circles.

The scientists' task will be to inform the broad public about each side's arguments, to thoroughly prepare the population for the formation of an unbiased, well-considered, far-reaching and competent opinion on the territorial issue. A nation-wide referendum may become necessary as well.

Vladimir Yeremin,
Cand.Sc.(History)

Tokyo will not be paying $200 billion

While Soviet businessmen speculate that Japan may pay Gorbachev 200 billion US dollars for the four islands in the Kurile Chain, Japanese businesmen show no intention of investing even one million in this country's tattered economy

440 Japanese and 120 Soviet representatives gathered in Tokyo to discuss the state and the prospects of Soviet-Japanese commercial and economic cooperation. The conference did not trigger any sensational breakthroughs. Japan's Big Business, which pinned a lot of hope on the coming forum, only at the beginning of this year, had lost all enthusiasm by the time the forum actually began. There are many reasons for the Japanese lack of interest. First of all, the events in the Baltic states, the defection of such well-known people as Shatalin and Petrakov from President Gorbachev's team and the mind-boggling knot of relations between Moscow, the republics, local authorities and individual factories and plants. No sound-minded businessman would sell anything to a country which has already accumulated a $ 440 million debt and shows no intention of paying it back. "The conference had been expected to provide a foundation for future economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan and would prepare for Gorbachev's visit, wrote the influential newspaper *Yomiuri*. We hoped that the conference would help us find ways to settle the territorial problem and that Japan could plan measures to promote perestroika in the Soviet Union... At the conference Soviet representatives were unanimous when they said the Soviet Union was committed to the policy of perestroika and the advance towards a free market economy. However, we cannot rid ourselves of the thought that the policy of reforms, which had been much hoped for in the West, is losing momentum. Moreover, there have been serious fears that President Gorbachev's visit to Japan, even if it does take place, will hardly facilitate the solution of the territorial problem, if only because Gorbachev's political power is fraying."

Will Gorbachev's visit end the problems?

To understand how serious such fears are, one must know how enthusiastically various Japanese circles waited for the Soviet president's visit. As the April Summit drew closer, expectation developed into euphoria. Gorbachev will come and settle the territorial problem for good, was the prevailing opinion. Despite Soviet representatives' sobering statements, most Japanese were convinced that it was a now or never chance.

Naturally, only the naive could expect Gorbachev to bring along the promise to return the islands to Japan. However, politicians and businessmen alike hoped for a dramatic breakthrough in the territorial problem.

Yoshiyuki Watnabe of the *Mainichi* daily thinks that many people understand today that the Tokyo's official tough stand on the issue is not promising and is an unrealistic as Moscow's stubborn refusal to recognize the issue as the central problem of bilateral relations. It is obvious that the obstacle cannot be overcome at once. Japan has only one trump card – her economic potential. The question, however, is when this trump card should be played. More and more Japanese politicians and businessmen are starting to believe that the demands for the return of the islands as the prerequisite and the precondition of any broad economic cooperation with the USSR are unrealistic. Another opinion prevails: let us expand trade with the USSR and when the Soviet Union tastes the fruits of such cooperation, it may become more flexible on the territorial issue. "A deal is the only possible solution. It is a matter of when, how much and in what form."

Everybody remembers last year's statement by the influential politician Shin Kanemaru to the effect that after all Japan could buy the islands from the USSR. For some time this approach was a favourite among politicians, businessmen and the omnipotent foreign ministry bureaucrats. This in turn boosted the enthusiasm of the Japanese business quarters on the eve of the Tokyo conference. "The Japanese side was prepared to discuss a number of large-scale projects and, perhaps, to conclude agreements on some problems during the summit, said Watanabe. The events in Lithuania took place precisely at that moment. Japan interpreted the events in the Baltic states as a sign that the Soviet leadership was dropping its policy of reform and of a free market economy. This could be a heavy blow to any possible effective cooperation, leaving the Japanese government with an even less room for political manoeuvering on the "territorial problem."

Watanabe also enumerated some other problems that had appeared during the preparation for the conference. As usual the Soviet side was in no hurry to respond to the fax, phone or telex messages from Japan. The composition of the Soviet delegation was not clear until the very last moment. The Japanese are already almost used to such things. However, they are puzzled by the confusion in the division of power between central republican and local authorities in the USSR.

The Japanese cannot understand a thing

"We are still unable to understand to whom we should be addressing our offers, who issues licences and who will pay the debts?" the Japanese often asked. I conveyed this question to a member of the Soviet delegation, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Maritime Territory, Vladimir Kuznetsov.

The chairman, 37, a graduate of the elite Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and an expert in international economic relations, co-chaired the Far East subcommittee at the Tokyo forum.

Another painful question – how many Japanese POWs lie buried in this country and where?

"Japan would love to have 'a zone of responsibility' in the USSR," says he. "Naturally, the Soviet Far East which is very close to Japan would be included in such a zone. For the Japanese this area is first and foremost a source of raw materials. We have different ideas of what our future should be. We have been brought up on the fairy tale of Communism and our vast potential. We continue to believe that Japan needs us and would suffocate without the USSR. As an expert I can say confidently that the Japanese will live as well as they do now, even if the Soviet Union completely disappears. The Soviet Union is not participating in the international division of labour and, logically, can do without Japan too. But why not use Japanese technology, and management practices? Why should we refuse to borrow good experience?"

"I feel," Vladimir Kuznetsov went on to say, "that the Japanese are harbouring delusions that a Far Eastern Republic may be established in the Soviet Far East and that it will be easier to do business with it than with Moscow. Such sentiments are also popular among Soviets living in the Far East. As for me, I am absolutely opposed to this. Soviet Far Eastern territories perform functions of national importance. There is only one bridge across the Amur, it was built before the revolution and could collapse any time now. We are told that repair and maintenance is a problem of the territory, not the Union. But one should not forget who uses this bridge and which goods are transported through it. What will the Railway Ministry do if the bridge collapses?"

"The Russian Republic is adopting laws that contradict the laws of the USSR. Local authorities are expected to choose which laws to observe. This is illogical, to put it mildly. The Russian leadership can instruct local authorities to obey only the laws of the Russian Republic. However, if it does, it must make sure that all conflicts that may result are settled in Moscow, not on a local level. This practice when laws contradict each other has done a lot of harm already. The Japanese, for instance, are totally confused."

William Nikosin will be helping Senegal, not the USSR

One can easily understand the worries of the Japanese and their thinking twice before plunging into the Soviet market. A year and a half ago I watched the drama of a Japan-based US businessman who tried to implement his age old dream – to set up a company in the Soviet Far East. In fact, I also played a part in this drama: I helped William Nikoson establish contacts with the interested Soviet organizations in Sakhalin. Last June, the Council of Ministers of the USSR registered the newly-established Soviet-American joint venture Asia Dynamic Sakhalin. William Nikoson was enthusiastic about the business. The joint venture started building a large farm for hydroponic vegetable growing. The joint venture's plans included the breeding of highly-productive pigs, the opening of a network of supermarkets, trading with Japan, the United States and South Korea. William Nikoson was successful in attracting leading businessmen from the above countries. However, all efforts were in vain.

On January 30, Nikoson sent a letter to the Soviet co-chairman of the joint venture informing him that the American side had terminated all investments in Asia Dynamic Sakhalin. Why did Nikoson decide to pull out of the business? The main reason was the incompatibility of Soviet business concepts with American ones. Other reasons were "the war of laws" between the Russian Republic and the USSR, the absence of any, even moral support, from the local authorities. Inadequate economic and living conditions which made it impossible for foreign workers of the firm to stay in Sakhalin for long periods of time. William Nikoson remains a true friend of the Soviet people. The venture cost him $250,000 and he also had to sell half the stock belonging to him and his wife in order to invest in the Sakhalin firm. William knew he was taking big risks, but the spirit of the American pioneers is alive in him; his spirit survived and Nikoson is planning to do something for people in Senegal.

The grim present of the Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation does not mean that all grounds for optimism are lost. The economic conference was successful in the sense that it demonstrated the Soviet side's commitment to the policy of perestroika. The success of the conference strengthened the Japanese's side hopes. Two large-scale economic agreements are expected to be finalized by the time Gorbachev goes to Japan and the Soviet president and the Japanese prime-minister sign them.

As for the sum of $ 200 billion for the four islands... Well-informed journalists told me: "Any Gorbachev-Nakayama deal is out of the question. However, an indirect link between the territorial issue and Japan's economic aid to the USSR is the only realistic scheme. The figure looks unreasonably large. More realistic is the figure of $ 40 billion which will not be paid at once, but offered in the form of loans, credits and investments. Actually, we are in no hurry to get the islands back."

Vladimir Ovsyannikov,
our own correspondent

TOKYO

A moment for reflection

on morals, prices, reforms, Russophobia and humaneness

I am roaming the streets of Prague. A newcomer to the city, I am just beginning to make friends and acquaintances. Interviews, visits to official institutions, leafing through the papers – all this is to come later. So far, just some first impressions.

There is a crowd in front of the Maj general store. Clearly not a queue, although queues have appeared here, too. Certain commodities, potatoes for instance, disappear from time to time, and when they turn up, a line forms (neat and quiet by our standards) stretching along the pavement. What I saw on that particular day was not a line, it was a tangle, even though a restrained and silent one. I squeezed my way through and saw a large grey-bearded man buying papers from a stalwart youth. Pack after pack. Tearing them up, throwing them down, buying more and tearing them up again. A curious sight, because such a display of political emotion is not common here, as I have personally observed. It is only when you pass a pub door that you can hear a hubbub of voices. Whatever the subject of discussion, it does not affect the city's every-day life.

Finally, the silence around the unusual buyer was broken. "He has torn up 190 crowns!" she exclaimed. "Has he got that much to spare?" That was a characteristic remark. People here are reluctant to part with their money, and for good reason. The prices, floated last January, jumped immediately. A pack of butter, which used to cost 10 korunas, now costs 24. Recently, however, I bought one for 15. That experience made it clear to me what the difference between the usual price rises and price floating meant – the dictation of demand into play here, and competition is gaining momentum. I have heard over the radio tips as to where to buy eggs and beverages cheaply. The cost of living has grown anyway. Judging by everything, all of us will have to pay an economic price for the political freedom we've got... Many will have to count their halers, and here is someone throwing hundreds of korunas to the wind... What's going on? "This is a fascist-mongering tabloid," a man hisses with ill concealed fury, while buying, nevertheless, the last pack from the vendor taken aback by such pressure. I just managed to snatch up the last copy. It turned out to be the Republika weekly. Splashed over the front page was the portrait of the man whom I often see on television – the finance minister Klaus, with an unflattering caption underneath.

The Republika is the mouthpiece of the Republican Party. At a rough estimate, there are about a hundred parties here, which is known to point to the underdevelopment of civil society but which, political scientists tell us, is typical of the period of transition from totalitarian rule to democracy. Recently, another party, the Civil Forum, has appeared on the political scene. "The Party is for the Party members, the forum is for all." That was the motto of the CF in the election campaign which it won – and suddenly... Not suddenly, as a matter of fact The turning of a broad movement into a party with a rigid organizational structure was preceded by heated discussion. Many noted figures of the forum, including those vested with power, signed a certain communiqué which said that "the striving to make the CF a narrowly restricted political party would deprive it of its main force and its advantage." There were also words one seldom hears from the lips of our politicians: about providing the conditions under which "the key to success lies in decent human qualities," about the value of not only freedom and courage but altruism as well – a word we have half-forgotten...

It is easier to destroy than to build. Building takes a clear-cut, well-organized power, a party, said the opposition headed by Minister Klaus. The result was an actual split. The CF disintegrated into two factions only formally united by a common coordinating committee. One of those factions was headed by Klaus who is regarded here as the architect of the economic reform and who can hardly be described as an altruist. It was him, who de-

The last Soviet military convoys leaving Slovakia

CTK–TASS photo

clared that Communism is a constant menace, and whom Republika accuses of having Communist sympathies... Incidentally, the Republican Party, known for its odiousness, is numerically quite small.

The crowd which surrounded the unusual buyer dispersed. I see him, still excited, pick up all the scraps of paper and toss them on to a waste bin.

I walk out to Vaclav Square. It is considered to be one of the most beautiful squares in one of Europe's most beautiful cities. I stay still to appreciate its beauty. It is Sunday. A holy weekend under any conditions, including the present political ones. Out-of-town traffic starts flowing as early as Friday. Today, however, there are quite a few people in the square, they stroll around, lingering at the shop windows. New shops have opened recently. Dresses from Paris and Philips electronic gear is readily available not only for hard currency but for korunas as well. If you've got enough of them, of course. Plenty have, it seems. An important event was taking place on that day, the papers said. The first shop auction. Bids ran into hundreds of thousands, even millions of korunas. (Incidentally, rumours are going round that some of the money involved belongs to foreigners). The old woman standing here and nodding her head ruefully hardly has enough money to spend on even a fraction of what the shop offers. Well, the market is ruthless. The most ruthless thing about it is that there is no option; Half-measure are chimeras. "The Market: Chimeras and Reality" is the heading of a convincing article by our remarkable economist Vasily Selyunin who hit hard at our feeble half-measures which have stretched over years. It was only once that he remarked, approvingly, "Now you are talking" as he quoted a statement by Marian Calfa, the head of the CSFR government: "We cannot afford to experiment with an economic model no one has tested, based on a combination of principles the compatibility of which has not been proved anywhere. We have to accept the market economy with all its merits and demerits".

The economic reform in Czechoslovakia is said to be making better progress than elsewhere in Eastern Europe. I am trying to understand why our reformers are, to quote Pushkin, so "lazy and uninquisitive" as regards those whom we have thought of until recently, as our brothers. We are looking overseas. Why not find out the reasons why, at such a rapid rate – just 14 months – against the background of small privatization (the big one is comining), soaring prices and inevitable social stratification – there are neither strikes nor protest meetings here. Let alone bloodshed... There are people, though, who say that social tensions are in the wind.

I am going through the square towards the St. Vaclav monument. From afar, I can see signs of a demonstration: the pedestal is glued over with leaflets, posters and placards. At closer inspection, I see that it is about us. In Czech: "Budapest. Prague. Tbilisi. Vilnius. Isn't that enough?" A noisy media campaign over the developments in the Baltics, and no pluralism as it were... By the way, a similar placard, word for word, in fact, was carried by demonstrators in Moscow the other day. And there is a slogan in Russian: the name of the dictator now in everyone's mind is associated with our president. I get over-patriotic about this: did I not see, on the very same square, portraits of the same man raised aloft like banners just a year ago? Another slogan, in English: "Russians, Go Home!" Poor Russians, responsible for everything... "If the Soviet Union is a friend, why, oh why did it not give us a hand when we were occupied by the Russians?" This is a question put by a little girl in school. I read about this in the diary by the well known Czech scientist Frantisek Janouch. That was only a little girl... Is Russophobia really "rampant within the educated classes and among the common folk of Eastern Europe," as a critic of Shafarevich's notorious article put it? "While shopping, you'd better speak German," I was warned on arrival. After the war, we were warned against speaking German. When will mankind learn to judge people not by the language they speak but by those who set them at loggerheads?

I am leaving the square, and it is a consolation to me to be able to look forward to meeting a man, 23 years old, who has been to the Soviet Union ten times: "I love the Russians very much," he says. He launched the campaign "Help the East," gathering medicines, vitamins, and warm clothes for the families of the servicemen now leaving his country. Simon Panek is one of the leaders of the student movement of the November, 1989, Revolution, the youngest deputy (who, incidentally, gave up his seat in Parliament for reasons of age). The meeting never happened. Simon phoned me and said that the action had been called off because of the events in the Baltics. What has this to do with the families of the servicemen leaving the CSFR? "Nothing, of course," Simon replied, "but by this action: we meant to sway those people who identify the government with the people, the generals with privates, and who put all the blame on the Russians. But now is not the right time for that." He interpreted my silence over the phone correctly: "No hard feelings. I hope the situation will change, and our interview may still take place. I'll call you.".

Many days have passed since then, and I'm still waiting...

The fog. Some fog! No snow, but the landscape unfolding before us frosted like a scene from a fairy tale. This is my first trip to the kingdom which is far from a fairy tale. This is an airfield with the MiG fighting planes lined up in formidable formations. This is a truly historic day: our last combat plane is leaving Czecho-Slovakia. An improvised stand, with military attaches from various countries on it. The first to speak is Colonel-General Vorobyov, the commander of the troop contingent, who is followed by a man in plain clothes. He turns out to be a well-known (in Czecho-Slovakia) musician, artist and, at the same time, chairman of the parliamentary commission for control over the withdrawal of Soviet troops, M. Kocab. Then came a long wait caused by the fog. Would the departure be delayed? No. The fog lifted little by little, and the MiGs started to take off, with a parting roar, one after another, leaving a trail behind them. "Are you happy?" I asked Kocab. "Yes," he nodded and then, answering the questions put by journalists who had gathered around him, added that the Czechoslovak side was pleased by the progress made in Soviet troop withdrawal, exactly on schedule, and that they had achieved full understanding with General Vorobyov, who always keeps his word.

We return to Prague. The correspondents' office. Evening. I am alone. The telephone is silent. I see the lights in the windows on the other side of street now going on, now off. And although I know that those are simply people who, as they go from room to room, just save electricity, it seems to me that a stranger is greeting me this way.

Maybe what dims our relations will disappear like that fog in the airfield? And the outlook for the future will be good?

Inna Rudenko,
our own correspondent

PRAGUE

Pragmatic approach to ideological conservatism

Political reforms beyond the Great Wall

When the tragic events in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in May and June 1989 stirred up the world public opinion, far from everyone supposed that politicians, political scientists and lawyers would analyse them more than once in an effort to understand the process which led to a crime against the people. The Beijing tragedy was not only "moment of truth" which helped to understand the developments in China. It also helped to draw a line between social and political forces within that country and outside it.

In the Soviet Union, the Beijing tragedy marked more clearly the dividing line between those who are prepared at any moment to come out against their own people at the call of some "national salvation committee" and those for whom the sovereignty of the individuals is of supreme value.

Nevertheless, sharing the opinion of the late Academician Sakharov as regards the events in Beijing, I would like to disagree with those (including our own quasi-democrats and human rights champions in the West) who willingly talk about the violations of human rights in China without taking the trouble to examine the specific features of its socio-economic and political situation.

Events in any country ought to be assessed in different ways. If the initial perspective is chosen incorrectly then, in comparison with civilized democracies, present-day China may seem to be a country where the pyramid of "Eastern despotism" still exists and where barbarism and grinding poverty go together with ultra-modernism.

Indeed, what human rights can one talk about in the country where the people have a limited right to have as many children as they want? Incidentally, this restriction is a significant stumbling block to better Sino-American relations.

Adhering to a one-child-per-family policy, the Chinese leadership is using a whole set of harsh and unpopular measures against large families. True, these measures apply mainly to the Han nationality. The national minorities are encouraged to have large families. Among the anti-birth measures are taxes and administrative and political sanctions up to and including expulsion from the party. A Chinese woman who gives birth to a second child will go through a humiliating "trial" at a meeting of her work collective. This reality of Chinese life can be described only as barbarity towards the individual.

Proceeding from this reality, not from abstract notions of right, we shall have to conclude nevertheless that this virtually anti-humane government policy is a forced measure. If a new wave of demographics (the second since 1975) is not stemmed, the population will be thrown back to the pre-reform level, to the time when consumption was rationed. In the present situation, such a change in the quality of life would be fraught with grave social consequences.

Here is an example to show the connection between democracy and demography more clearly. China's grain crop in 1989 was higher than in 1984, which is considered a record year. But during this period the population grew by 73 million, and for this reason per-capita consumption of grain dropped from 330 to 308 kg. Many other examples of this kind could be cited over the last five years, though the rate of economic growth has been 8 to 9 percent on the average.

This explains why China is now faced with a dilemma: either reproduce poverty on a large scale or stabilize the population growth by pursuing a reasonable policy of reducing the birth rate. Such a policy will enable China to achieve the goal set in the early 1980s. By the middle of the next century, the country is expected to attain the world's average quality of life for its more than one billion-strong population.

Quality of life is indissolubly linked with problems of democratization. In their polemic over these problems, Chinese political scientists are trying to establish whether the population has matured for democracy. Many of them agree that the nation cannot "creep" into democracy and, the more so, it is unable to take a "quick step" towards democracy. Certain political and moral standards are required for building a democratic society. Democracy offers a wide choice to people with regard for their positions, views and actions. However, it is inconceivable without the re-

Preparations for a wedding is a festive occasion in a Chinese family. Problems arise when children are born

Xinhua-TASS photo

ponsibility of everyone before the society, or the choice made by the individual. At he same time, it is believed in China that lemocratization is not reduced only to beralization of the political system.

Our experience shows that the failure to ake these and many other factors into ac-ount in the process of democratization as resulted in the growth of violence, nter-ethnic tension, and paralysis of the entral and local authorities. Human life is depreciated and hatred between people is tirred up. It is aroused mainly by their very-day struggle not only for scarce goods but also for articles of a primary necessity.

Blinded with hatred for totalitarianism, we have taken a quick stride towards democracy which is often manifested in mob power in our country. It seems that our political reforms are regarded by the Chinese leaders as a negative experience. Beijing would like to avoid much of what is happening in the USSR. Chinese propaganda keeps stressing that some time will be needed to instil in the people a correct understanding of freedoms and to develop political standards corresponding to a really democratic, not extremist, level of thinking.

Nevertheless, whatever initial point is taken in the analysis of the situation, one cannot but see that political reform is making slow but sure progress in China. In the 1980s, Chinese reformers divided functions between the party and government bodies, democratized the electoral system, and established a system of consultations and dialogue with different sections of the population. The practice of holding high party and government posts for life was abolished, and all privileges for higher-ups were revoked. Recently Chinese citizens were granted the right to lodge complaints against the actions of officials.

The point is, however, that in carrying out political reform, Chinese leaders use outdated dogmas and campaigns like "learn from Lei Feng," use slogans of the time of the "great leap" and "cultural revolution," and toughen control over the thought of professionals and students. This is taking place at a time when the reforms have emancipated the public consciousness and raised great hopes among the people in an irreversible course of development.

As China advances further the contradiction between pragmatism in the economy and conservatism in ideology will grow sharper, though perhaps this conservatism has its rationale in helping to avoid extremes, of which there have been so many in the history of our two countries.

Vladimir Smolko

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DISCUSSION FORUM

Perestroika and authority

George Yaney

Leaders can predict the movement of a wave, but they can neither create it nor change its directions'

We usually speak of authority as a thing that is held and wielded by certain designated individuals. After the 1920s, we say, Stalin's authority was unlimited. By contrast, the authority of the president of the United States proceeds from and is limited by law. We make much of the difference between these two kinds of authority, but in either case is conceived to be an instrument that some man holds and wields. We often speak of Perestroika as if we expected a great deal from men in authority.

Why Korkunov did not write letters to the Tsar

Towards the end of the 19th century, a Russian professor of law named Nikolai Korkunov* suggested that we see authority in a different way: as a social-historical phenomenon. According to Korkunov, law and authority do not come down from some heaven of scholarly construction to determine what people do. They are outcomes of social-historical development, which is itself an outcome of human action and interaction. When a man says that he is carrying out orders or performing duties, he may very well believe it, but what he is really doing is using conventional phrases about law and authority to delimit and pursue goals of his own. Specifically, he uses these phrases to influence the people with whom he interacts and on whom he depends to achieve his purposes. Obviously, the phrases will influence the interaction, but it is the interaction that gives meaning to the phrases. Laws, administrative regulations, and the commands of persons in authority acquire their meanings as they are implemented. They have their real existence in the minds of those who are involved in and affected by the implementation.

It sounds as if Korkunov were saying that authority is weak. If it is not an instrument that some properly designated man uses to direct other people's behavior, then a man who is presumed to hold it is not only using the people he supposedly directs but also, and primarily, being used by them. His will does not govern what his subordinates und/or subjects do with the commands he utters. As Korkunov saw it, holding authority is like riding a wave on a surf board. The holder may acquire some skill at keeping his balance and predicting what the wave is going to do, but he is not producing or directing the wave. But this does not mean that the wave is weak. As a social-historical phenomenon authority may carry enormous force. The tsar of Russia was largely unaware of the things people did in obedience to his commands, but since the authority attributed to him was used extensively by his subjects to influence one another, it played an important role in their lives. The tsar's authority was very strong, even though the tsar himself had little or no control over it.

Korkunov was saying that authority, law, and administrative organization are similar to a language. In his day, it had become apparent that a common language could suddenly unite people who had never seen each other before and plunge them into conflicts with other peoples entirely unknown to them. Individuals could be induced to make great sacrifices. Unquestionably, then, language, constitutes power. But it is not a thing in itself, hovering in the sky far above the concrete intercourse among real human beings. It does not direct behavior but resides in the people who use it. Its power comes from being used and continually given new meanings in the course of actual experience. A language that is not used and changed by individuals seeking to delimit and pursue their own purposes, will die out. Conversely, a language that does not die out is an authentic expression of mutual dependence. According to Korkunov, the same can be said for govenments. The authority of the Russian tsar, for example, would have had very little influence on anyone, if actual people had not gained experience with it by using it to articulate and dignify their own intentions.

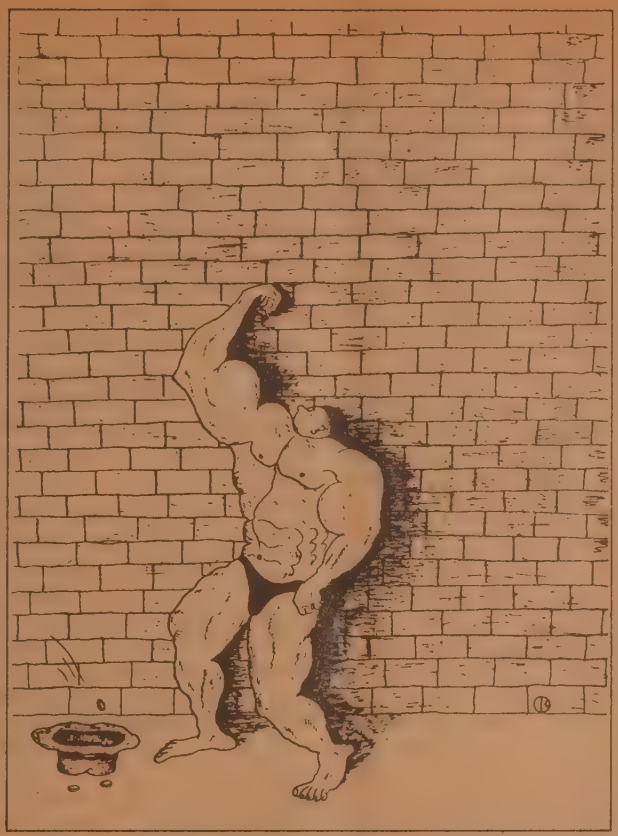
Korkunov emphasized the importance of use as opposed to devotion. He denied that law and authority rest fundamentally on anyone's conscious determination to uphold them. Sentiments of loyalty, duty, and patriotism may derive from a social-historical phenomenon, but they are not basic elements in it. There are law-abiding citizens, loyal followers, and true patriots, but, Korkunov insisted, a system of law and authority does not arise from or rest on sentiment. Real people do not reliably support law or authority because they believe that they should, but because they learn from their own experience what these entities mean. If people do not learn from experience to use law and authority, all the virtue and patriotism in the world will not sustain the system.

Korkunov's view of organization and authority

GEORGE YANEY – prominent American historian, professor at the University of Maryland. The article is based on Prof. Yaney's paper presented at the international conference Soviet and Eastern European Reforms and their Impact on the World System arranged by the Centre of Slavonic Studies at the University of Hokkaido.

*__Nikolai Mikhailovich KORKUNOV__ (1853–1904) – prominent Russian scholar (state and international law), professor at the University of Petersbourg.

as social-historical phenomena leads to no conclusions about the best form of government, or policy, or technique as of management. His approach to law and administration is of small value to an expert whose purpose is to prosecute the guilty, or defend the innocent, or uphold the right, or earn consulting fees. Unlike Lev Tolstoi, Korkunov could not write letters to the tsar telling him what he should do. It seems to me, however, that Korkunov's perspective has some relevance. On the one hand, it conveys warnings concerning the dangers that arise when people come to believe that authority is an instrument. On the other, it reminds us that there is no such thing in human society as a total (or totalitarian) organization, or a predetermined course of events, or an inevitable destiny. If authority is not an instrument and organization is not a mechanism, then they cannot be bringers of doom or destroyers of freedom.



Drawing by Vladimir Soldatov

A trap of exaggerated expectations

Perestroika, we know, involves an attempt to cope with the consequences of Stalinism. Stalinism involved an unusually determined effort to mobilize the resources of a nation by compelling everyone in it to make himself part of a gigantic mechanism. Stalinists acted as if they believed that authority could run this mechanism. No sign of Korkunov's society here. No awareness that the participants in an organization give it meaning by using its phrases to interact with each other. Stalinists believed that strong authority and dedicated service could achieve any purpose: winning a war, keeping order, hastening progress, advancing science, mobilizing an economy. They seem to have been wrong, and now Perestroika must find another way to conduct business.

The general impression is that Gorbachev is weak. He has confessed on behalf of his government and his Party to mistakes and crimes; he admits periodically to his regime's inability to cope with economic problems; he welcomes his domestic opponents into his government; he invites formerly hostile powers to intervene into his country's economy; he strives, not without success, to undermine institutionalized authority: his own, his party's and his government's. As experts continue to speak of what he must do, he seems to be rendering it impossible to do anything. No wonder we think of him as weak. No wonder that we explain the moves he has made by attributing them to desperation rather than wisdom. No wonder that we predict the collapse of his regime. His own people talk this way. They too want Gorbachev to be strong, so that he can make Perestroika succeed. The prevalence of this sort of discourse should warn us that we have not yet dispensed with Stalinism. We have not yet learned that Stalinism proceeded from modern man's exaggerated expectations of authority, not from authority per se.

Machiavelli's followers

Three habits of thought make it difficult for modern men to consider the nature of authority. I am not sure exactly when they came into operation, but all three had already captured the Western imagination by the early nineteenth century, and they have dominated it ever since.

One is the assumption that governmental authority is not necessary for the direction of a nation's economy, because there is a mechanism, known as the free market, which operates to assure optimal distribution and efficient production of material goods. The only fuel that this mechanism needs is the behaviour of people who conform to some notions of human nature advanced by philosophers during the 18th century. Like Stalin's government, the mechanism will work only if people do what philosophers expect them to. Perhaps the most influential proponent of the idea of the market mechanism was David Ricardo, whose book, *Principles of Economics*, first appeared in 1818. All sorts of people were impressed with Ricardo's reasoning. The British establishment quoted Ricardo when it refused to feed the starving Irish during the famine of the late 1840s. Karl Marx copied Ricardo's basic ideas into *Das Kapital* in the 1860s.

Ricardo presumably got his inspiration from Adam Smith, who had published his famous book, *Wealth of Nations*, in 1776. But Smith did not demand nearly as much of his mechanism as Ricardo did. Smith said that if tradesmen were left unsupervised by government they would form monopolies. The market would not operate as a mechanism, he said a number of times, unless the government intervened to prevent tradesmen from following their natural bent. Smith made no effort to say how the government was to accomplish this end except to intone that it should be wise and just.

So far as I know, Ricardo never disputed Smith's belief. He did not assert in so many words that it was unnecessary for government to prevent tradesmen from forming monopolies. He just forgot all about the question of how the market mechanism was to be maintained. It was a mechanism, and that was that. His successors, by and large, have accepted this tacit understanding, and today we still speak glibly of the free market, despite the fact that the aspiration to keep the so-called mechanism in operation has brought forth an avalanche of legislation and administrative regulation far more voluminous than all the paraphernalia of feudalism and oriental despotism combined. Modern men have learned to rely on authority to hide from the weakness

of their thinking. What is the free market? Its tangible form is a huge, ever growing body of regulations, enforced by men who possess authority.

The second assumption clouding the modern mind has to do with civil and political rights. In earlier times, rights were statements made by a government describing actions that it would not take. For example, the constitution of the state of Massachusetts, which came into effect in 1780, including promises that the government of Massachusetts would not abridge the individual's right to speak, or print, or assemble in groups. This was the model for the so-called Bill of Rights, which was added to the constitution of the United States in 1790 or so. At about this time, however, a new conception gained ground. Rights were declared to be something that every individual possessed. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, adopted by the revolutionary government in France in 1789, expressed this idea, promising in effect that governmental authority would be employed to protect individual rights from anyone and anything that might threaten them. Civil and political rights began as promises that the government would not act; they were transformed into open ended demands for government action.

This represented a momentous change, but it called forth surprisingly little discussion. Like the change that Ricardo imposed on Adam Smith, it was largely unconscious. Only a few obscure scholars have mentioned the possibility that a government held responsible for sustaining the rights of citizens would have to be very powerful. Thus, a vast legal-administrative apparatus for preserving rights has taken form without anyone observing that if a government preserves the rights of its citizens, the citizens do not possess rights. All they have is the expectation that men in authority will act to prevent and/or punish violations of rights.

It may be said that modern society is characterized by two beliefs that not only express interdependence but also intensify it: the market mechanism, and individual rights. I have suggested that in Korkunov's view, law and authority reside in the minds of men who become aware of their mutual dependence and who express their awareness by attributing authority to some combination of law and leader. It may be said of modern men that instead of relying on each other they exhibit a powerful tendency to rely on authority. They are riding a wave, and just about all of their thinking about themselves consists of a massive effort to persuade themselves that they are driving a car.

There is a third habit of thought that makes it difficult for modern men to ponder the social nature of authority. This is their proneness to believe that formal authority is effective in and of itself. If some necessity requires that a man in authority act apart from laws and customs, his authority is presumed to become stronger. This belief manifests itself most clearly under abnormal conditions: emergencies, crises, wars, and so forth. Some variety of martial law is proclaimed; a military commander is authorized to do anything whatever when and if he deems it necessary; and since everyone is legally obliged to obey him, we say, his personal authority knows no limit.

We say in such cases that the commander himself is powerful. Following Machiavelli, we take our statements about what we expect from the commander and make believe that they are descriptions of reality. In fact, as Korkunov said, the commander's power consists only in the extreme expectations placed upon him. He is expected to know what is necessary, but his situation, by definition, is one in which no one can know this. He is licensed to act blindly, and this alleged authority allows everyone to believe that he is making things happen. Informed by this belief, events are explained after they occur by tracing their causes back to commands that were or were not issued in the commander's name. This is how modern men think. They believe, following Machiavelli, that a blind man waving a stick is somehow operating a machine that will unify large numbers of men and set them to acting collectively. Even today, after the experience of Hitler and Stalin, men still believe this.

Learning to use myths

Korkunov was not suggesting that modern men abandon the effort to understand each other by conceiving of themselves as parts of abstract structures or followers of leaders. Whatever Perestroika may turn out to mean, it is not likely to bring an end to market mechanisms, constitutions, or ideologies. It certainly will not bring an end to authority. Korkunov only wanted to point out that structures and leaders are products and expressions of culture. They express human experience and make sense of it. They make it possible for modern men to communicate with each other and rely on one another. They themselves cannot be relied on to direct people or tell them what to do. Stalinism is not a matter of bad men seizing control. Stalin's government emerged during a time when Western culture was suffering from a serious loss of self control. In the early 20th century, market mechanisms and constitutions had reached their highest development. They were conquering the whole wide world, when suddenly the modern state plunged into the first world war, and the modern economy, far from opposing this suicidal inanity, joined in with whole heart. The war became clearly pointless, but no one could stop it. Modern society went out of control. The world had never seen such a demonstration of authority's power, but it had never been clearer that no one held autority.

The only man who was able to take a modern state out of that monstrously stupid war by his own conscious decision was Vladimir Lenin. We are accustomed to explaining the Brest-Litovsk Peace by using ritual phrases: Lenin's power, his ruthlessness, the strength of his resolution, the organizational capabilities of his party, and so forth. Had he not died in 1904, Korkunov would have said that this unique action, in which a single man imposed a decision on an entire people against the determined, unanimous opposition of every political leader in the country, including his own supporters, suggests the extremes of desperation that modern society had reached in Russia in 1918.

After the first world war, the only state that showed any serious, sustained interest in picking up the pieces of Europe was the Soviet regime. The other great powers crawled home and tried to forget what had happened. Either that, or they fell into a hysteria even less restrained than that which had kept the war going for more than four years.

Stalinism did not represent a departure from the proper development of Western civilization. It was a way of coping with this development. Perestroika should not be expected to return to some hodge-podge of 19th-century illusions but instead to make an effort to cope with the realities of social-historical development without falling into Stalinism. Gorbachev's most significant contribution is that he has set development in motion without affecting to build a structure that supposedly allows him to control and predict them. What does the Gorbachev phenomenon signify? It offers an example of a people learning – or trying to learn – to use the myths of law and authority in order to lean on each other.

The last straw?

Tatiana Ivanova

People are tired of politics, they say. Life goes on, they say. But so it did in 1937 and in1943

Suddenly the telephone rings. Which is always unexpected in the middle of the night.

"Switch on Leningrad at once!" my friend exclaims.

With one hand I switch on Leningrad TV, with the other I dial more friends to pass the information on.

An hour later, at almost two in the morning, we phone one another again to say "thank you" and agree that if anyone of us should accidently come across something like that again they should phone at any time day or night.

So what was it? The speech Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia made in Zelenograd on February 1.

The next night I accidentally caught another of his speeches on the air, which came through dispite interference, evidently from Britain or France.

Lithuania, as one will remember, was placed under economic sanctions. Russia has been placed under information sanctions. The TV screen is barred to her. She's been chased off the first radio programme and the Mayak radio programme. As she is supposedly broadcasting what she should not, so out she goes. That half the people in Russia have no three-programme radios is not our problem, she is told.

Life goes on, they say. People are tired of politics, they say. You're a woman, they say. So write about ordinary life, as after all people cannot be on tenterhooks all the time and read nothing but political declarations.

My dear people, life goes on, of course. There, birds chir-up outside the window, which means that warmer days are coming. There's more daylight now, and in the sunshine the icicles drip. Spring is arriving, my favourite season. Children laugh and lovers hold hands. After all life never stopped. It went on in 1937, and in 1943. Mother gave birth to me when life was pure hell, but still it went on. You can trot this argument out to dupe the children, the old folk and the youngsters in whom the instinct to live is so strong. You can dupe the menfolk with their penchant for philosophizing and abstract thinking. But you cannot dupe the women.

In the opening paragraph I introduced something of a pen picture. Does it refer to life? Or to politics? Or take the following. In a small town outside Moscow I queue for a loaf of bread in a shop, whose shelves are absolutely bare. Realizing that nothing will be left for me, I quietly ask the others in the line why they are taking ten loaves at a go. Is it for their hens? No, not for hens, but for themselves, they tell me. They're making rusks. "Are we supposed to die of hunger, what with a war round the corner?" they say.

Why war, I whisper. A civil war, they say. From the 17th of March. They're going to open fire everywhere as they did in Lithuania so that we don't break away from the Soviet Union.

Is that life, comrades? Or is that politics? Or take that sack of salt an old crone dragged from the shop to her porch, where, unable to get it up, she perched sobbing. Or take the shag seed they sell in the market at three rubles a teaspoonful, plus the instructions how to plant it. Or take the glittering eye of my schoolmarm friend. "All my life I've been honestly teaching kids. I'm a form mistress with the title of Merited Schoolteacher. Now I have to prove to some official body, that I didn't steal those 500 rubles. Damn you all! I don't want to lead that sort of life!"

What the woman guardian of hearth says is that hearth is unprotected, menaced from every quarter. By hunger. By cold. By physical destruction. By humiliation. Even by the extermination of all still warming themselves at this hearth.

Stuck in my memory is the line: "We live, not feeling the country under our feet."

Neither the birds outside the window, nor the dripping icicles, nor the carefree children can fool us. What goes on today is truly not life at all. When for my money I cannot buy, get, or entreat from the monster-state a plain ordinary medicine for my mother, no other life, except her one and only life, has any meaning for me. When my entire honest family, who have worked so hard all their lives, are not sure that in store for our one and only child is only loss of parents, abasement and starvation, then life no longer goes on for us.

Whereas before January 13 we had hopes that everything was for the better, that there would be freedom, tranquility and peace, on that 13th day our hopes were crushed under those tanks in Vilnius. If the blood of compatriots can again be shed, if that may again be considered as justification for some unknown aim, then no hope is left.

In this country the mammoth building site of a law-governed state has been conserved indefinitely. Do you really think, my dear friends, that life goes on in state of emergency? No, only in the woods, in the fields, in the gardens does life go on.

Under the relatively mild Khrushchev-Brezhnev dictatorship of the CPSU, for 30 years people only pretended to be working. They shilly-shallied, stole, drank. But they very much wanted to work. The whole country groaned: "We want to work!" When perestroika came, it shook off the lethargy, believed society would appreciate skill, initiative and enterprise. It believed that each worker would no longer have five bosses overseeing him. But it looks as if it shouldn't have done so.

What, the bosses don't fancy that? What, they think the worker needs an overseer? No, the worker will never really work for a dictatorship. True, he can push a wheelbarrow along at the point of a gun. But do nothing more complicated, nothing in which to invest brains, heart, mood, even inspiration. No, citizen chief, rather chiefs, as there are already more than five, the engine won't run, the gears are clogged and there's no monkey wrench handy. The gruel's too watery, citizen chief.

To be German and stay German

People, leaving the USSR, face extortion and humiliation

"Going to West Germany? Where now? Sheremetyevo airport or to a hotel? That'll be one and a half grand all in all."

The discerning eye can pick them out at a glance. Young and old alike, suitcases, bundles, bags. Blue hunted eyes. Families of Soviet Germans come to Moscow from all over to board that Lufthansa plane which will take them to the land of their ancestors. From time to time someone in the crowd come from the airfield to the study hall, of Domodedovo airport, will let drop a couple of phrases in the German tongue. Just enough for one to catch the names Martha or Heinrich. A driver's quick ear will pick up these incomprehensible words and will offer to take the family, baggage and all, to the centre of Moscow, or to the international airport Sheremetyevo II. That's you're lucky: for others the hourlong trip round the capital may cost between two and three grand.

About a year and a half ago mafiosi working in the airports and train stations round the clock would ask ten times less. As far as the circumstances of their work have remained unchanged and the local militia are as sympathetically inclined to them as before, it would only be logical to suggest that the prices had increased because of inflation. Or because these social outcasts, Soviet Germans, having given their knowledge, strength and health to their homeland, are now trying unrestrainedly to escape from its suffocating stranglehold.

Yet this average family of Germans from Alma Ata refused the kind help of the moneygrabbers. They got their things onto the charter bus and were all ready to be on their way. However two men in balaclavas unexpectedly appeared in front of the driver and beckoned him from his cabin. They took him aside and held him in conversation for a quarter of an hour. He returned pale-faced: "Sorry mates. Out you get."

They got off the bus. They found another bus at the opposite end of the square. Unobserved they dragged their cases over to it and got in. Once again these grinning faces turned up in front of the driver. "Hey, you got extra tyres or something? Sick of making money on the side?" "Just don't make too much noise," the sweating driver begged the passengers. "Sometimes they get back onto me."

This family was lucky. They managed to avoid the attention of the mafia and got a taxi into the centre. "The mafia has closed in on me. I won't be able to work here any more. Would you give me an extra twenty-five," said the middle aged taxi driver on departure. Thus my dear friend, deputy director of the German Drama Theatre, Jakob Fischer, left for Germany. He left with his wife Lyudmila, his son Hermann and his daughter Veronica along with the families of his two brothers. Seventeen people altogether – eight adults and nine children. He went to his five brothers and sisters already settled in Germany. The last of the Fischers was gone.

"We're leaving the 'good life' behind."

Soviet officials were always more inclined to explain the emigration of Soviet Germans as pertaining to financial difficulties rather than political ones. There may of course be some truth in this, all the more so since this assertation is confirmed by the Germans themselves, who willingly repeat stock phrases about the reuniting of families and material gain to OVIR (Soviet immigration authorities) and journalists alike. Elementary survival instincts compel them to do so, and were they to do otherwise they might not be granted leave from the country.

However, other reasons lurk behind the more standard ones, the main one revealing itself in the fact that regardless of their lawabidingness, many Germans have never come to terms with their forced exile to Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and were always longing to return to their prewar home on the Volga. The old have not forgotten the annihilation of their autonomy, the labour armies or their placing in special settlements. The young themselves have come up against insuperable barriers when choosing a profession. Because of their belonging to German nationality, they have been refused work and university education. It must also have been humiliating to have had their real nationality hidden under Russian or Ukrainian pseudonyms in order to secure safety in the Soviet Union. The past few years of perestroika have given the Germans no cause to feel that now they might become equal citizens. The government has done nothing to curtail the reasons for the mass emigration of Soviet Germans.

Jakob Fischer's father-in-law, 77 year old Albert Krieger, was too afraid to tell me much, but he just wiped his eyes with a handkerchief and repeated, "Thank God we've been able to get out. Why? To get away from this 'good life' of ours." His wife, 72 year old Martha Bayerbach, told us, "We've been hoping all our live that tomorrow would be better than today. We've born insult and injury for truth and justice but nothing good ever came of it."

Lyudmila Fischer, 36, is a history teacher and said, "I'm leaving for the sake of the children. Now, in Germany, they will get to know the German language and culture. It is just not possible to retain that with only the help of one theatre group and three newspapers."

Jakob Fischer, 35 says, "I have been encouraging German movement for years. I am leaving simply from despair. In nine years of working for the theatre I have been to nearly all the areas where Soviet Germans life. Now a lot of the villages where we performed have emptied. The theatre alone was enough to awaken national consciousness and make the people feel German and emigrate. The long standing insult could have been repaired by the restoration of the German autonomous republic, but this was not to be. There is no justice and there is no certainty in the morrow."

Last autumn there was a festival of German folklore in Alma Ata under the aegis of the theatre. Dozens of performing collectives and

Airport Sheremetyevo II: "Hurray, we're leaving for Germany!"

thousands of spectators gathered in the capital. They parted as if forever, knowing that this celebration of German folklore on Soviet soil would be the last of its kind.

In 1990, 146 thousand Soviet Germans moved to West Germany. The German embassy in Moscow has received a million immigration requests. But even leaving presents a string of humiliations, mockeries and plain robberies to these people.

Everyone has to pay

Jakob Fischer's own story: "To get an international passport from the Soviet immigration authorities involves an unofficial payment of a minimum of one thousand rubles. As Soviet-German families tend to be big, this means bribes totalling at least five to six thousand. This is the case for any emigrating person, be he Greek, Jew or Uighur. It doesn't depend on the length of the trip. Sometimes the OVIR officials think they can get a bit more from one or another family and they double the taxes. My brothers waited three months for their passports and paid four and a half thousand each. But when the passports were ready they were made to pay more still. The OVIR inspectors, basically of native origin, come and go on the principle, "I've eaten, let another have his fill."

Ulyanovsk Region: "We'll live here better than in Germany"
Author's own photograph

Bigger bribes come into play when sending luggage on by train. Firstly, in order to bring down the luggage, you have to pay 400 rubles on top of the official price, then a whole lot more to see it on its way. That's not counting the customs fee for every kilogram of weight.

"They cheat you when changing rubles for hard currency. For 900 rubles they now give DM 250. Making use of the ignorance of the emigrants, mostly peasants, as to the real value of hard currency, they give 40 dollars instead...

"Scandalous things also go on in the selling off of private property. Germans' houses are in great demand - they are clean and high quality. But, by unspoken laws, in Kirghizia Germans can only sell them to the Kirghiz and in Tadzhikistan to Tadzhiks only. My brothers lived in the Chimkent area and wanted to sell their houses to Russians, Koreans or Uzbeks. But the village is situated on the Kazakhstan territory so Kazakhs only could buy. The house was worth between 35 and 40 thousand rubles and they were offered between 5 and 7 thousands. While my sister was selling her house, Koreans, Uzbeks and Tadzhiks came to blows over the matter. This was all in Uzbekhistan so an Uzbek got the house for a half of what the others were offering."

In Alma Ata I was not able to get Jakob's story either confirmed or denied. A local OVIR executive, who wished to remain anonymous, assured me that the majority of workers were longstanding and that there was no basic instability among the members such that "if you give your documents in today, the next day you may pick up your passport."

The meticulous work of the Foreign Economic Activity Bank (Vnesheconombank) of Kazakhstan was striking, as was the lack of a days-long queue. They told me that thanks to the well organised system with hard currency it was possible for proceedings to take two days. 900 rubles means DM 92 and 100 in travellers cheques. "It's the easiest and safest way," they explained.

Everything was in order at customs where they disembowelled containers West Germany bound. They searched for contraband goods among matresses, pillows, prams, children's toys, crockery, buckets and old bikes. Customs inspector Yuri Chukhray commented: "We fairly rarely find illegal goods."

At Alma Ata customs artist Anvar Madaliev, told me: "If I were our President Nazarbayev, I would have given some area up as a German republic and they'd have fed Kazakhstan and the rest of the USSR as well."

The artist, of course, is far removed from politics and perhaps economics is not his forte, but he was clearly aware of the loss to both the republics and the country caused by the exodus of Germans. It is hardly incompetents who are leaving, but those strong, willing, striving workers who lived well in the USSR and who, by means of their hands and heads, will not breakdown anywhere. And perhaps it is a good thing that Soviet citizens have at last gained the right to choose where to live as is practiced in any civilised country. The fact that many Germans choose to remain in the Soviet Union, giving Moscow the benefit of the doubt, means that the central authorities should take immediate steps to meet them halfway.

Saving the drowning

However, few believe in the ability of the Soviet government to resolve the German question. More hope is pinned on the Russian government. The Russian Federatrion has already allotted 20 million rubles to the reconstruction of German villages in the Ulyanovsk Region, which is being undertaken by the agro-industrial association Soyuz. However this money is not overwhelmingly helpful since it is not backed by bricks, wood or cement. The Germans do not believe in begging funds from the regional authorities and are taking a stand on their own. Thousands of Germans are willing to move to the Ulyanovsk Region from Kazakhstan, Central Asia and Siberia. Forty kilometres from Ulyanovsk in the village Bogdashkino I met the first arrivals, the new colonists, who are sleeping on the ground, working without respite and who have not seen their families for months now. They are unshaven, with tired eyes. But people have come here to build a bright future for themselves and their children, to live no worse than in prospering West Germany.

They have been promised help from abroad. A member of the Association of Germans Abroad, Dr. Alfred Eisfeld, has brought the offer of a dairy and a bakery to the village Bogdashkino, and there will be a German school there.

"The idea is to set up 20 small businesses with the help of German firms in all the settlements where Soviet Germans plan to live," says Doctor Eisfeld. "We are simply trying to raise the standard of living in these areas and ease ethnic tensions."

At the end of last year the first German bank "Wiedergeburt" (Revival) was instituted in Alma Ata. Along with the research-and-production association Temp, the bank is going to establish a joint-stock company Wiedergeburt in which, hopes the director of the bank, Alexander Scmidt, about 1.4 million Soviet Germans will take part. The company intends to issue shares of a few million rubles worth, which be given free of charge to both emigrating and remaining Germans. Schmidt hopes that using the company's profits they will be able to finance renaissance culture and language programmes.

The saving of the drowning under our government has fallen to the hands of the drowning themselves. The Germans have answered to the lack of restoration of their constitutional rights by the setting up of their own independent financial structure.

The programs, plans and concepts are exceptional. But how many years will it take to put them in to practise even if they do receive help from abroad? And how many more of our humiliated and degraded countrymen will have left for a better life abroad by then?

Konstantin Isakov

If you're a Hopi...

Lev Yelin,
our own special correspondent

It's no coincidence that in this country we pitied the Indians. They are just like us...

In the Indian village of Sipaulavi in Arizona, 150 miles south of the Grand Canyon, at one time centuries ago stood four gigantic stone pillars. Since then two of them have fallen. When the other two fall, according to the beliefs of the Hopi Indians who live here, that will mean the end of the world...

Paris to Oraibi non-stop

The Hopi tribe settled in this region at the beginning of the millennium. On the rocks a recurring drawing has remained: a line which leads spirals into a central point. That symbolizes the fact that here, Sipaulavi, Walpi, Oraibi and another dozen villages which make up the Hopi nation also make up the centre of the Universe. The tribe found it and has never since left. Such was the command of the Gods, of the Great Rulers of which the Hopi consider themslelves the direct descendants. The residents of Sipaulavi have a sacred duty – to protect the Pillars of Life. This allows the residents of the reservation to look with hauteur upon the surrounding capitalist world.

The Pillars of Life and a bulldozer: which will win out?

Not far from the village a road is under construction and bulldozers and heavy machinery shake the earth, threatening to bring about the end of the world. Will they finish construction soon? But that question of mine shows a lack of sense of tact, or, more precisely, makes no sense: with Hopis it is difficult to speak about time or to talk about when something is to be completed, finished or carried out. In their languages, and thus also in their way of thinking, there is not a single word or grammatical construction which would refer to a past, present or future, which in and of itself gets rid of many problems which come from attempting to comprehend the future or tallying the results of the latest five-year plan.

As it turns out, one can draw a picture of the life of the Universe without making use of the category of time. In Hopi, every process on earth has its own time which changes according to circumstances. The Hopi can build bridges, houses and roads for years on end; they simply have no concept which would equate with the idea of having to complete the construction of an edifice within a certain period of time. But this way of life costs the state hundreds of thousands of dollars as work schedules go away and contracts remain unfulfilled...

The threat of bankruptcy as several naive white contractors from outside the reservation thought, would force any worker, even if a third generation Hopi, to toe the line with everyone else. But here they were mistaken. The Indians know naturally the worth of the dollar and no longer trade whole pastures for strings of beads. But they have their own definition of poverty. For the Hopi, one is poor if one is left with no family, outside one's clan or tribe, without those who understand. For them, unlike the Americans around them, cosmopolitanism is something completely foreign. The fact that any Hopi living among his kinsmen does not consider himself poor means that there can be among the Hopi no striving to make a buck, no hope to fulfil the American Dream.

"The whites came and exclaimed: 'What poor people!' But we didn't know that we were poor," a Hopi elder who lives in the village of Walpi told me.

The village of Walpi is made up of small clay and stone houses on a 150-200 metre high plateau less than a kilometre in diametre. It is one of three plateaus on and around which the tribe's many villages are located. From the high plateau, it is easier to spot an approaching intruder and defeat any assault. Since 1540 when Spanish explorer Francisco Vasquer de Coronado came here in search of the Seven Golden Cities, the Hopis have had to fight for their homeland many times. But in general, they are a peaceful tribe; the word "hopi" can be translated as "peaceful."

The Americans long ago found the cities not noticed by the Spaniards, though it is they who made them Gold. But the Hopis have not left their plateaus and the principal differences in their life style make them consciously aware of the threat posed by the outside, surrounding world.

The village of Walpi is gorged and etched out by the wind which, even today, centuries later, still manages to coax clouds of sand out from among the crevisses. Decorated clay pots stand at the entrance of almost every home as well as Kachina dolls which Hopi women offer for sale at $10–15 a piece (though which they don't really hope to sell.) Most of the village has plumbing and electricity, but at one end there is a 50-metre island not touched by civilization. There an old man lives who sheltered me during the sandstorm to tell me about what poverty is.

He is a veteran of the Second World War who fought in Europe and remained with his unit for some time in Paris after May 1945. After that he came straight home to the plateau and has not left

ever since. He refused to have plumbing or electricity installed in his dwelling: his ancestors lived without it, so he can too. And what about Paris? The old man gestures towards off to the side in reply:

"That is the village of Oraibi, the oldest in America. It is the birthplace of the Gods and we must preserve it exactly the way it is. It is like..," he searches for a metaphor, "...like Israel!"

Two dollars a soul

The old man demonstrated his vast wisdom culled from his travels and from information he received via his antique radio. But a few steps away from his domicile near the cliff – and the pathos of his words and the romanticism raised up above the Walpi fly off into the nevermore. The mountainside and base of the plateau are littered with empty beer, Pepsi and Coke cans.

"No one comes to gather the refuse up," Kim Tesaku, a public relations specialist tells me on the road back. And that historical age when the McDonald's boxes and cans are collected has long since passed for the Hopi.

The road up to Walpi is being widened and is for the time being unsafe, which may make solving the problem of refuse possible. But when will they finish? Again my question is out of place. Kim, who received her education outside the reservation, merely shrugs her shoulders and turns away.

One's imagination draws a surrealistic picture: the plateau rising up against the sky does not really stand out among the mountain of discarded cans. But as one climbs higher the majesty of the scene begins to take over – enormous rocks torn from out of the dried earth and houses built into the side of the cliffs.

I stop at an Indian trading post. As a rule, such posts consist of a wooden frame over which is draped a canvas covering. Indian women, sometimes with their children sell objects d'art made of clay wood and beads as well as inexpensive but very attractve silver jewelry. At this post I spy a very colourful old woman. I grab my camera and get out of the car, which provokes a look of consternation from Kim.

The Hopi and Navajo Indians who live here believe that if they are photographed their souls will be stolen from them. At Walpi I was politely but firmly requested to leave my camera in the car. Apparently such "robberies" are periodically committeed. However, the entire tribe gave in to the arguments of reporters from *National Geographic* and the tribal chieftain himself, Ivan Sidney, posed against the backdrop of the ancient dwellings as an advertisment.

The Indian town of Miecosukee, Lousiana, is famous for its alligator wrestlers, who, for a small fee, demonstrate their talents to tourists. Of course the alligators in Miecosukee, just like the bulls in Madrid, are not the largest or most dangerous

I approach the old woman with a request.

"Me," she says, pointing to herself, no Kachina.

I step back humbly but then a voice bellows out of the tent behind her.

"Two dollars."

Two dollars for the great soul of a Hopi. That's how much a kilogramme of meat costs on a Moscow market. On the reservations there's a cynic lurking behind every bush, a visceral critic of these low-down, good-for-nothing Indians who'll sell their own mothers to make a lousy buck. But there is another explanation: on this scorched American ground two cultures wage an uneven battle, two systems of values, two ways of describing the world. Discarded beer cans on the plateau and selling one's faith are the result of a civilization which was stronger and thus feels itself justified in its actions.

People of the hinterlands

In the foisty cement-labirynthine hotel called the Second Mesa where the Hopi cultural centre is located, I was shown a long film on the tribes' tragedies and the severity of the problem was shared with me.

One Hopi told a story of how several white teachers who were sent to work on the reservation by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs did not respect the virginity of their female pupils. I listened and nodded my head politely but refused to believe what I was hearing. We have all heard many such stories, I told myself. Yes, these American immigrants, people without a homeland, were unfair and harsh in their treatment of the native inhabitants of the continent right up until recent decades. But in the 1980s the complaints of the Indians were exaggerated.

At the Indian centre in Minneapolis, Minnesota (a state in which 45 thousand Indians live), I was told about incidents of forced sterilization of Indian women and about deliberate exposure of Indians to various diseases by whites. They were incidents which occurred some time ago, but the facts, all new to me, were told in such vivid detail that I carefully recorded each of them in my notebook. However, after my first meeting with historians, I was forced to cross my notations out.

In general, I too was wrong: I didn't believe the Hopis at first. But just one month ago, in New York, I conducted a computer search of the files of a local newspaper and found that in one school on a Navajo reservation in 1986, six pupils were raped. In another case, a teacher named John Boone over the course of nine years of work on a Hopi reservation forced almost 100 boys to carry out his requests for sexual favours. In an Indian school in Phoenix (the capital of Arizona) "for educational purposes" handcuffs, strait-jackets and mace gas were used... One gets the impression that teachers in Indian schools distributed all the filth of white America.

Those who come on to the reservation with feelings of respect for the tribes' culture who try to teach Hopis to be Hopi and Navajos to be Navajo have a difficult time. When white professor Roger Dancemore tried to change things, for example by introducting weekly readings of Indian poetry, his colleagues accused him of "trying to take the school back into the Dark Ages."

All this reflects the official American attitude towards the Indian heartland.

In 1879 according to a decision made by the government boarding schools were set up for Indian children in order to coax them out from under the influence of their parents and draw them into the world of the striving to achieve the American Dream.

In 1953 the Congress adopted a resolution calling for the abolition of tribes

An Indian trading post near the Arizona–Utah border. Here many Westerns are filmed and Indians are paid 40 dollars to fall from horses in mass scenes. Occasionally one shot from a cowboy-hero fells a dozen or more Indians, to the displeasure of the director

and the resettlement of Indians to the cities.

In 1965 this policy was recognized as being the wrong course of action and the reservations began to be given funds for the construction of houses and schools.

"Only ten years ago the authorities were against instruction in the native language of the Indians," the Hopi say. "Now they say that that is absolutely necessary..."

National minorities always get the short end of the stick.

Good fences make good neighbours

Territorial problems and issues connected with forced resettlement occupy a major place in the lives of the Hopi.

One is hard pressed to hear a good word on a Hopi reservation about their neighbours the Navajos. It turns out that I had wound up in a conflict zone where there exists the concept of occupied territory just as in the Middle East, and a holy mountain which remains in foreign hands, just like Armenia's Mount Ararat.

The Navajos were once hunter-gathers, but some 500 years ago they came to this land and began engaging in animal husbandry. The Hopi, who had almost completely died out from a plague brought by the Spaniards never became a large tribe; they number some ten thousand at most. The Navajos number some 150–170 thousand and are rapidly growing in population (the Hopi accuse the Navajo of deliberate polygamy with the aim of overwhelming their neighbours by sheer numbers and also winning the favour of their senator by means of offering more votes) and with every passing year take more and more land from the Hopi.

"They cut barbed-wire fences, smash the windows of houses and steal cattle," the Hopi complain. They gave a disparaging assessment of the Navajo: hunter-gathers without their own culture or religion – everything adopted or stolen from others.

The chief of the Hopis is Ivan Sidney, his first name being spelled in the Russian way, though he assured me that he has no Russian blood in him. It should be said that a serf once ran away from a Russian trading mission and became the chief of a small Indian tribe on territory that is now part of California. The tribe to this day uses several Russian words: vodka, pivo (beer), moloko (milk), etc. Ivan Sidney studied together with Peterson Za who was selected Navajo chief not long ago. Ivan and Peterson were friends but, having become chieftains they "announced a break in their friendship" and now wage a vicious war in Phoenix and Washington.

The government tried to resolve the two sides in the name of "normal common sense," but every year the territory of the Hopies decreases more and more in area.

In 1962 the court named the majority of the disputed land a "cohabitation zone" which to the tribes seemed a mockery of the holy land where their predecessors lay buried. In 1974 Congress decided to divide the land in half. One hundred Hopis were to be resettled on one half and ten thousand Navajos on the other. Since then only 4,000 Navajos have given up their land and the costs of resettlement of one family have risen from 25,000 to 60,000 dollars.

Part of the 4,000 who were resettled were moved to houses outside the reservation, which became perhaps the most egregious in a series of errors committed in the course of the territorial conflict. Many Indians found themselves incapable of paying for community services or of dealing with loan sharks and real estate agents. They lost the home given to them and many became alcoholics and drug addicts.

Behind this history there lie not only saints and the graves of ancestors and the punishments of the Gods. There is also a Great Mountain (that very same Mt. Ararat) which historically belongs to the Hopi and which was almost won away from them in battle by the Navajo. The mountain contains coal and uranium. The extraction of these minerals is carried out by the Peabody Company which for many years has paid the tribes a very modest proportion of its profits. But now the Hopi and Navajo know the true extent of these profits and along with waging the battle for control of the territory also demand a fair portion of the profits received by Peabody: it is after all their land.

Of those companies who extract minerals from the Indian lands, an unusually large portion of them are some criminal. About as great a proportion as of white pervert teachers in Indian schools... The main reason being the attraction of the minerals and the elementary nature of the deception. But there is another element to all this: businessmen often refuse to conclude contracts because of the Indians' peculiar concept of time and because of the fact that the election of a new tribal chief can change a tribe's policy completely. For example, the unrestrained stealing of the former Navajo chief as well as the abuse of members of his own family did little to improve the business climate on the reservation.

Over the past decade, more than 30 million dollars have been granted by the federal government to help the tribes; everything sold on the reservations is cheaper as sales taxes which most states charge are lifted on goods sold. However, economists say that the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs is carrying out its duties poorly, a lot of money is being thrown away and that corruption flourishes.

In trying to explain the reasons why aid to the reservations is wasted, some experts say that the government would do better by not dumping programmes on the Indians and by leaving them more to fend for themselves. However, 80 percent of those Indians surveyed said that, though they do not trust the federal government, they still feel that the money is better spent by the government than given directly to the Indians.

...Some day probably the remaining Pillars of an ancient and great civilization will fall and the Walpi plateau will be eroded and garbage shoots will be installed there. But until that sad day comes, Big White Brother will clumsily continue to try to do good for those who look down on them, giving them the civilization they don't need and allowing their souls to be bought for two dollars a piece...

ARIZONA – UTAH – MOSCOW

Author's photo

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

"The state may be thrown into confusion by what newspapers and magazines say; but it can be killed by their silence." These words by the French thinker Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald have lost none of their poignancy to this day. Especially in the countries which have long staggered under the burden of totalitarian regimes, which have had no freedom of speech for decades, which have refined to perfection the mechanism of blocking this freedom. In our country, the word in defence of the word, the truth in defence of the truth are of special importance now that these mechanisms, after a short interval, are again being brought into play. Despite all the changes, despite the policy of "glasnost", even despite the Law on the Press, attempts are being made to restrict the public's access to information, to the whole spectrum of opinions, to non-orthodox assessments and forecasts.

The progress in winning the freedom of the word must have been impressive enough considering the fact that the authorities, now under pressure from reactionary forces, do not venture a head-on attack on the press. Those resenting free speech are now on the offensive, but they are treading carefully, using such disguises as calls for "objectivity", trying to angle the news, to present it in an one-sided way, to suppress free comments on it. Especially, through the channels of the mass media which are still under their control, using the Party and state structures, which remain as rigid as ever. Incidentally, the forces of reaction do not stop short of slander and juggling with facts, as was made evident by the notorious "Petrunya affair", for instance.

All such phenomena are of a kind. Falling into this class are the propaganda tricks pulled by the "Communist monarchist" Nevzorov and the vigorous activities by L.Kravchenko, the chief of the Television and Radio Committee, who has his own ideas about the "depolitization" of television. For all the "freedom islands" it still retains, television is no longer what it used to be – "Spotlight on Perestroika" has since become the "Undertaker of Perestroika" under its new chief...

This is why our top artists refuse to cooperate with Central Television today. They do not want to have anything to do with the manipulation of public opinion, to be accomplices in the "whip and carrot" policy. Their protest is well in line with the call made by Alexander Solzhenitsyn exactly 17 years ago: "Down with falsehood!"

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

We follow today with an article by Solzhenitsyn under this title which appeared in a number of publications (including the Twentieth Century and the World) recently, but was somewhat overshadowed by the writer's new journalistic efforts. How to arrange our life properly is now a subject of considerable controversy. However, the thirst for the free word and the commandment "Thou shall not lie" remain indisputable.

Those who have read this, please take another look.

Those who haven't, please do. It might give you rich food for thought.

Let's not live by a lie!

Alexander Solzhenitsyn

There was a time when we didn't even dare to speak in a whisper. Now we write or read Samizdat, and complain to one another to our heart's content, even in the smoking rooms of research institutes: "They're messing us about!" The unnecessary bragging about outer space when the country is ruined and poor; the strengthening of distant wild regimes; the stirring up of civil wars. They recklessly supported Mao Zedong (with our money), but it will be us who will be sent against him, and we'll have to go, there'll be no escaping it. They take legal action against anyone they like, and healthy people are driven to lunatic asylums – always "they" while we are helpless.

We already reached a limit, general spiritual ruin is threatening all of us and physical destruction is about burn us and our children, but we go on smiling cowardly like before and babbling inarticulately:

"How can we prevent this? We have no strength."

We have become so hopelessly dehumanized that for a bit of food we're ready to sacrifice all our principles, our soul, all the efforts of our ancestors, all opportunities for our descendants, just so long as no one disturbs our frail existence. We have no more firmness left, no pride or fervour. We don't even fear universal nuclear death, World War III (maybe we shall hide in some hole), we are only afraid of taking steps of civic courage! If only we could not stray from the herd, not take a step on our own – and suddenly find ourselves without a long white loaf without gas and without a registration of residence in Moscow.

In political study groups they kept repeating the same thing to us, so often that it became deep rooted in us – to live comfortably and well all our lives in the social conditions which cannot be overstepped. Being determines consciousness, but what have we to do with all this? We cannot do anything.

But in fact, we can do everything! We are cheating ourselves in order to be calm. It is not "they" who are guilty but us, only us!

Objections may be raised: really there is nothing we can think of! We have been gagged, nobody listens to us or asks us anything.

How can we make them listen?

To make them change their minds – but it is impossible.

It would be more natural to re-elect them! But usually there are no re-elections in our country.

In the West people know about strikes, demonstrations of protest but we are too downtrodden, we are afraid of them: how is it possible, all of a sudden, to give up work and go into the street.

But still, the other fatal roads, tested over the past century of bitter Russian history, are not for us either. We have had enough! Now that all the axes have done their work, and that all that was sown has sprouted, we can see how misled and dazed were those young and conceited people who thought they could make the country a just and happy one through terror, bloody uprising and a civil war. No, thanks, fathers of enlightenment! Now we know for sure that foul methods are bred in foul results. May our hands be clean!

So, the circle has been closed? And there is really no way out of it? And it only remains for us to wait: something might suddenly happen of its own accord.

But it will never come off all by itself if we continue to recognize, glorify and strengthen it without departing from its most sensitive point.

From the lie.

Filth will never come off all by itself if we continue to recognize, glorify and strengthen it without departing from the lie

When violence bursts into people's peaceful lives, its face is glowing from overconfidence, flying the flag and crying: "I am violence. Disperse, make way or I'll crush you!" But violence quickly grows old, a few years and it is no longer sure of itself and in order to hold ground, to look decent, it has to adopt Lie as an ally. This is because violence has nothing to use as a cover except Lie which may hold its ground only by means of violence. And not daily, not by laying its heavy paw on each shoulder – it demands from us only submission to the Lie, and daily participation in the Lie: herein is its loyalty.

And here lies the simplest and most accessible key to our liberation, ignored by us: personal non-participation in a lie! Let the lie cover everything, let the lie possess everything but let's resist in every way: let it possess but not through me!

And this is the slit in the imaginary ring of our inaction! – the easiest for us and the most destructive for the lie. People flinch from the lie and it simply ceases to exist. Like an infection, it can exist only on people.

We do not succumb to a call, we have not matured enough to march to the square and speak the truth out loudly, to speak aloud what we think – don't do that. That is too frightening but let's, at least, refuse to say what we do not think!

This is precisely our road, the easiest and the most accessible with all our deep-rooted organic cowardice, much easier (it is terrible to pronounce) than Gandhi-style civic disobedience.

Our road is: not to back the lie consciously; having realized where its boundary is (different for everyone) to give up this gangrenous boundary; not to paste the dead bones and scales of ideology; not to stitch rotten rags and we will be surprised how quickly and helplessly the lie drops off. What is naked, let it appear naked in the world.

So let each one of us choose: to remain a conscious servant of the lie (oh, of course, not because we like it, but in order to feed the family and bring up the children in the spirit of the lie!) or, to shake it off and become an honest person worthy of respect, both of our children and contemporaries. From this day on he:

– will not write, sign or print a single phrase that distorts the truth;

– won't pronounce such a phrase either in private conversation or before a crowd, neither in the role of agitator, teacher or educator, nor in a theatrical role;

– neither through a painting, a sculpture, a photograph, technical means or music won't transmit any false thought or a single distortion of the truth;

– won't give, either orally or in writing, any "guiding" quotation to please or to provide safety measure for the succes of his work if he doesn't share fully the quoted thought;

– won't let himself be forced into a demonstration or meeting if it is against his desire and will; he won't take or raise a streamer, a slogan which he doesn't share fully;

– won't agree to a proposal which he doesn't sincerely sympathize with; or vote overtly or covertly for a person he considers to be unworthy or dubious;

– won't let himself be dragged into a meeting where a compulsory and distorted discussion of an issue is expected;

– will immediately leave the session, meeting, lecture, play, or film as soon as he hears a lie, ideological nonsense or brazen propaganda;

– won't subscribe to, or buy from a newsstand a newspaper or magazine in which information is being distorted and the facts of paramount importance are being kept back.

We have not enumerated all possible and essential deviations from a lie. But the person who starts purifying himself – will easily discern other cases too.

Indeed, at first it won't come equally for all. One person will temporarily lose his job. For young people who wish to live by the truth this will complicate their life in the initial period; after all, the lessons being answered are also stuffed with a lie, and they have to choose. But no loophole is left for anyone who wants to be honest: never will any of us, even in the safest technical sciences, trample down at least one of the above-mentioned steps – either towards the truth or towards a lie; towards spiritual independence or spiritual servility. And the person who lacks courage even to defend his soul, let him not be proud of his advanced views, not boast of being an academician or a people's artist, honoured worker or a general. So, let him tell himself: I am a commoner and a coward, but am well-fed and warm.

Even this road – the most moderate of all roads of resistance – won't be easy for those who have been in this state too long. But it is much easier than self-immolation or even starvation: the flame won't envelope your body, the eyes won't burst from heat and black bread with pure water will always be found for your family.

The great people of Europe – the Czechoslovak people, betrayed and cheated by us – haven't they really shown us that an unprotected person can stand even againat tanks if a worthy heart throbs in their chest?

It won't be an easy road, but will be the easiest from the available. A difficult choice for the body but the only one for the soul. A difficult road, but there are people in our country too, even dozens of them, who stood for years all these paragraphs and who live by the truth.

So, let's not be the first to embark upon this road, let's join it! Then this road will become easier and shorter for all of us, with the more concerted ranks which embark upon it! If there are thousands of us, they won't be able to cope with any of us. If there are tens of thousands of us, we won't recognize our country!

But if we get the jitters, then no excuse, we are our own enemies! We shall bow our heads, wait a little longer and our brothers biologists will help bring closer the reading of our thoughts and the alteration of our genes.

If we get the jitters even in this, then we are worthless, hopeless, and Pushkin's contempt is meant for us:

Why do herds need the gifts of freedom?

Their inheritance is passed from family to family
A yoke with rattles and lashes.

February 12, 1974

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The Cheops Pyramid

"Painting in Russia, a family tradition." Show of Chernyshev-Gorsky painter dynasty inaugurated in Bologna

On the eve of the opening Bologna's Mayor Renzo Imbeni sent a message of greetings to Moscow, where in a highly poetic, grand style (incidentally, two translators worked hard to bring this "lofty style" across) he served notice that the Podesta Hall, this fresco-adorned pearl of the ancient Palace of Re Enzo, was prepared to accept the intimate world of the works of art of the Russian Chernyshev-Gorsky painting family and that Soviet glasnost had furnished possibilities for old-time Europe's tangibly nearer relationship with the USSR.

It is the first time that such a non-commercial family show has been mounted abroad, the more so in Italy with its rich artist tradition. For that matter despite their more than century-long history, the Chernyshev-Gorskys never sallied abroad with their efforts before. No wonder at the outset they viewed as unreal the Kaos Service firm's offer. Indeed, no wonder, as life had taught at least the older members of the family not to take even the most tempting offers too seriously. Still this time the reverse was the case. Not only Bologna's City Hall shouldered responsibility for the exhibition, but the Russian Federation Ministry of Culture and the republican Rosizopropaganda (Russian art promotion) centre also contributed their share. Indeed the Soviet side secured the pictures from the respective museums as far from all are in the family's possession today, insured them and shipped them off dispatching a van with 170 works that arrived in Italy within the specified deadline.

A mere two or three years ago when the West viewed Soviet avantguarde art as the exclusive priority interest in such painters as the Chernyshev-Gorskys, whom we might term realists, was unthinkable. However, for painting too the fashion changes rather rapidly, as has been reaffirmed by the Italian-sponsored Bologna show.

Nikolai Chernyshev, the family patriarch, studied under Valentin Serov, Abram Arkhipov and Konstantin Korovin. Incorrigibly opposed to purely materialistic attitudes, he time and again told his pupils what Korovin had said to the effect that "money is shit, so don't worry about it". Perhaps for that reason he was never able to price his own works. In the 1930s this man, a genuine adept of the realist tend, so characteristic of 19th century Russian art, was accused of formalism by the architects of socialist realism, and along with others was harassed and persecuted. However, he proved strong enough to struggle not only for his own vision of the world, but also for the right of others to see this world in a different light. No wonder, people, regardless of age and trend, so greatly respected his appraisals.

Nikolai's daughter, Katherina, never entertained the idea of taking up any other calling than her father's. For that matter his grandson, also Nikolai, who was in his grandfather's case up to the age of nine, was likewise convinced that he was bound to take up painting as a career. As for his son-in-law Andrei Gorsky, his attitude to the patriarch was one of profound reverence from the very outset. Often Nikolai would note in praise of somebody's efforts that he had reproduced "a Gorsky sky."

For the Italian exhibition, which as was noted initially, was the first family show ever from the Soviet Union, the Kaos Service firm put out a catalogue in Russian, Italian and English, with reproductions in full colour of all 170 works listed. Though the connoisseur might find ratner amazing the circumstance that the artist Eric Bulatov did the catalogue cover and exhibition poster, there is nothing strange in the fact that these artists, though of such varied trends, not only accord recognition to one another, but also strive to help one another. After all, the progenitor of the Chernyshev-Gorsky dynasty maintained that painting resembles the Cheops Pyramid, which one artist would never build however great his talent. Each artist adding a stone to this edifice in accord with the legitimate logic of tradition and continuity, serves greatness, while all who break away to try to create something new of their own, at best obtain just one slab, at worst pile up a heap of rubble upon which nothing of significance can be built.

Tatiana Firsova

At the age of 16 **Rolf-Dietrich Keil,** the future Chairman of the German Pushkin Society, began learning Russian by taking evening courses at a Russian high school. He started with Pushkin's fairy tales, and then continued his "education" in the Kola Peninsula mines and quarries in the Western Ukraine where he spent five years.

In 1955 Dr Keil visited the Soviet Union again, this time as an interpreter for Chancellor Adenauer.

His third meeting with Pushkin's homeland took place many years later when he was invited to Moscow as Chairman of the German Pushkin Society in February of last year and took part in the constituent conference of the All-Union Pushkin Society (was founded three years later than its counterpart in Germany).

Prior to becoming head of the Pushkin Society in Germany, Dr. Keil wrote a thesis on Fet's lyrical verse, taught Russian in a high school in Bonn and Hamburg University, and translated Pasternak and Eugene Onegin into German. His translations were highly praised by Pasternak who corresponded with Keil. He also edited the Munich-based magazine called *The Teaching of the Russian Language.*

The German Pushkin Society has already held two international scientific symposiums and is preparing for a third.

The society publishes yearbooks, organizes seminars and lessons as well as "Evenings with Pushkin" in many German cities. Dr. Keil's dream is to write Pushkin's scientific biography.

I. Yuryeva

* * *

Sixty-four-year-old leader of the South African Communist Party **Joe Slovo** remains loyal to the ideas which attracted him in his youth. South African Communists are primarily fighting against apartheid, and now that their struggle is beginning to bear fruit, they are sorry to see that they are faced with another danger: communism is losing many of its supporters.

Joe Slovo, the only white member of the African National Congress (for a long time he headed the headquarters of the Spear of the Nation guerrilla army) enjoys enormous popularity among the black population of South Africa. "Long Live Joe Slovo!" are the usual words closing meetings of ANC supporters.

The son of a taxi driver who emigrated from Lithuania, he was brought up in a poor Jewish quarter of Johannesburg and worked at a drugstore. Later he received education as a lawyer. In 1950 Joe Slovo and his wife Ruth First, a Communist journalist, were included in the first list of people banned from being quoted in the press. At the age of 28 he was forbidden to take part in left-wing meetings. He was accused of treason. Slovo defended himself at the trial and won the lawsuit which lasted for two years. When the Communist Party was banned in 1960, Joe Slovo became an ally of the ANC, which united the black population against the white. Joe Slovo had to flee the country. In 1982, while he and his wife were residing in Maputo (Mozambique) his wife received a parcel with a bomb inside which exploded. Joe Slovo continues his struggle alone.

* * *

Victor Polyanichko, 53, the second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, has become chairman of the republican organizing committee for Nagorny Karabakh, which replaced the local Soviet and other constitutional governing bodies in Nagorny Karabakh. He was sent to work in Baku after work in Afghanistan as Babrak Karmal's political adviser.

Victor Polyanichko and the organizing commitee he heads are accused of preventing the restoration of lawful governing bodies in Nagorny Karabakh. However, Polyanichko believes that it is impossible to give power to "newfangled local leaders," whom he describes as "extremists," "political spongers," "terrorists," "ideological whores" and "impudent rascals."

"We are in favour of elections in Nagorny Karabakh," says Polyanichko, "but you must bear in mind that the people will not allow those who have drawn Karabakh into the conflict to come to power again." However, he does not specify what people he is talking about — the people of Azerbaijan as a whole or the Armenian

Second exile?

The attempt to remove **Igor Golembiovsky,** first deputy Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Izvestia,* is seen as putting out feelers before an attack on the freedom of the press.

Ten years ago, Golembiovsky was removed from his post. In 1981 the then Editor-in-Chief Pyotr Alexeyev, who had come to *Izvestia* from *Sovetskaya Rossiya,* offered him a chance to leave Moscow and go to Mexico to work as the newspaper correspondent there. The situation is being repeated now as the new Editor-in-Chief Golembiovsky has been offered the post of the newspaper's correspondent in Spain. Though times seem to have drastically changed, it still appears to be an honorable exile.

After Ivan Laptev was elected Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the staff of *Izvestia* at their general meeting unanimously recommended Igort Golembiovsky be appointed to the post of the paper's Editor-in-Chief. The Supreme Soviet Presidium which did not approve of the decision, suggested a compromise variant: Nikolai Yefimov, former chairman of the State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Bookselling, and once *Izvestia's* first deputy Editor-in-Chief, was made Editor-in-Chief, while Igor Golembiovsky, who enjoys the trust of the newspaper staff, was appointed his first deputy.

Fifty-five-year old Igor Golembiovski has worked at *Izvestia* for 25 years. His colleagues describe hime as the bulwark of their newspaper, the centre, around which group *Izvestia's* journalists who issue perhaps the most widely read Soviet newspaper which consistently upholds the cause of perestroika, democratization and glasnost.

At a meeting organized by *Izvestia,* the entire staff of the newspaper, as well as the weeklies *Nedelya* and *Soyuz* once again expressed their unanimous support for Igor Golembiovsky and their trust in him, urged the Editor-in-Chief to reconsider his decision, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to take the opinion of the work collective into account.

population of Nagorny Karabakh, who so far cannot elect their own deputies.

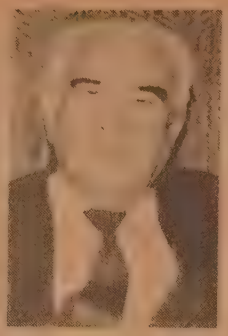
Victor Polyanichko, who has a candidate degree in history, has been effectively working in YCL and party organizations since 1964. His experience of work in Afghanistan when Kabul had not yet chosen the national concord policy, evidently made him the most suitable candidate for work in Baku, where the issue of Nagorny Karabakh had become No. 1 problem, Victor Polyanichko demonstrates resolution and firmness at his post. During his office two deputies of Armenia's Supreme Soviet were put behind bars and it was decided that the Shaumyan region in Nagorny Karabakh be abolished.

* * *

The British Secretary of State for Defence **Tom King** has been criticized by the British press because he and other high-ranking military authorities refuse to give full information about events in the Gulf. While the entire journalistic corps of London can watch reports from the region made by their American colleagues, the British military refuse even to confirm officially the information they see on the screen. In addition, the information supplied by the Defence Ministry, are based on the "strict anonymity" principle, in other words the newsman cannot name the source of information. British reporters made a joke of a story which took place at one of the daily briefings at the Defence Ministry: a high-ranking British military official presented another portion of "anonymous information," and when asked about the sources of it he answered that a day earlier he had watched a TV interview with the US Armed Forces Commander in the Gulf.

Tom King is known for his knack of avoiding answering even the most concrete questions. The 57-year-old politician, and a graduate of Cambridge University, he was Secretary of State for Environment, Secretary of State for Employment and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

Nikolai Kamensky, 64, Co-Chairman of the coordination council of the voluntary society in the city of Ulyanovsk called "For the truth about V.Lenin and our history" believes that the growing number of critical articles in the Soviet press about the founder of the first state of workers and peasants comes from the fact that Lenin's opponents do not know anything about this "simple, and decisive man of a genius."



Nikolay Kamenski was born in Ulyanovsk and spent his life dealing with problems of ideology. At first as an active YCL member of an Air Force school, and then at district, city and regional YCL committees. Later he worked at the propaganda departments of the city and regional party committees. He headed the department of culture of the regional executive committee.

The co-chairman finds it hard to name the exact number of members of his society, so far not registered anywhere. However, the society's noble goal, that of "objectively describing the history of our nation, the life and work of V. Lenin, and ridding his heritage of falsifications and distortions, consolidating the forces of the workers who have chosen the socialist way of development," will certainly attract a great number of working people.

* * *

The international music festival in Colmar, France, held for the second time last year (see *New Times* No. 39/90), is not a festival of outstanding performers only. It has made several young talents known to the entire world. Among them is **Lucille Y. Chung,** a 17-year-old pianist from Canada, a student of the Curtis Institute of Music.

In spite of her young age, Lucille Chung has won prizes at various international competitions and has played with world-famous orchestras. Her rendition at the Colmar festival proved so interesting that she was invited to perform in the Soviet Union. Her first concert took place at the Glinka Central Museum of Musical Culture.

Lucille Chung's playing is characterized by an inner freedom and colouring of sounds as well as an amazing musical harmony. It is to be hoped that her dream of playing in the grand hall of the Moscow Tchaikovsky Conservatoire will sooner or later come true.

Rena Sharapchenkova

A general without army

Russia's MP, Colonel General **Konstantin Kobets** has been appointed Chairman of the State Committee of the Russian Federation for Defence and Security.

At 51 Konstantin Kobets, Dr of Military Sciences, deputy chief of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, is one of the youngest among his country's highest military leaders. His subordinates say that he can stand his ground irrespective of his opponent's rank, is approachable and democratic in his views, a quality rarely encountered in military men.

Konstantin Kobets was born into the family of a steel-worker, graduated from a military communications school, a Military Academy and the Academy of the General Staff. He served in various parts of the Soviet Union, took part in clearing up after the Chernobyl catastrophe and repaired the communication system in Armenia after the earthquake there.

It took a long time to choose the candidate to the post of Chairman of Russia's committee. It is hard to be a general without an army. And Russia is not going to have an army of its own. Colonel General Kobets believes that "there's no need to set up Russia's army as a means of defence of its sovereignty and the state, or of the continuation of its policy." In the political field, Union Armed Forces must guarantee the sovereignty and security of each republic, as well as the role of the USSR as a great power and a major factor in international political stability."

So it looks like the new Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of Russia will have to deal solely with questions of mobilization, civil defence and patriotic education. And, perhaps, from time to time to remind the country's leadership that it promised not to use the army to settle internal and inter-ethnic conflicts.

How many did we lose in the war?

Having won a war in which the fate of our homeland hung from a single thread, in our joy we did not even try to tally how many of our citizens we lost

Stalin limited himself to naming a figure of 7 million. That was a convenient figure for propaganda purposes. The Americans from the very start refused to take this figure seriously and gave their own figure which was higher, a figure over which we became indignant.

Later Khrushchev gave a figure of 20 million. That was as fictitious as the former, but nonetheless the world shuddered in awe. That meant that we had lost several times more people that all our enemies taken together who fought for a considerably greater period of time and over a more extended front.

Go and try to make sense of our statistical service, which is used to operating according to the principle: "What would you like us to give?" The war ended long ago, but with each passing year our losses continue to mount.

Not long ago the President named a new figure of our wartime losses: 27 million. But there are many reasons to question the accuracy of that figure as well.

No one pitied the soldier. I cannot recall a single incident in which a high-ranking commander said that a victory could have been achieved with fewer losses. This habit carried over into times of peace. People were killed during atomic testing, in tactical training and as a result of the dissemination of the practices of *dedovshchina* (hazing) learned in the GULAG.

But where did the figure of 27 million come from? What was it based on?

...With the beginning of glasnost, several major archives began to be declassified. I personally worked periodically several years in the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence located in Podolsk. There glasnost is interpreted in its particular fashion. After extended red tape, I received a card which allowed me access to the archives. In my research, I had to number the pages of the notebook I made my notations in (which had to be of a certain format), sew it together and seal it with wax.

Woe be it to the brave soul who dares to make notations not in his notebook, but on a separate sheet of paper. Any such temerity attracts the immediate attention of the curator on duty, who confiscates the scrap of paper, all of which results in the privilege of access to the archives being taken away from the offender. But that's not all. If among the yellowing pages one finds something in fading print that is of importance, something that might shed some light on any of the blank spots in the history of the war, then dutiful censors to whom I am forced to turn in my notebook after work, will cut out whole lines or cover whole passages with indelible black ink and then some several weeks or months later will return the notebook to the military recruitment and enlistment office which I have to a phone periodically to check whether my notebook has yet been returned. This is why it is difficult or impossible not only merely to form a clear picture of the war, but even to chart the course of a small engagement when basing one's research on data which has been censored several times.

...However, just one day before lunch break, a group of young men came out of a separated room

Photo by D. Baltermants

where the highly classified documents were preserved.

As became clear later, they were from the General Staff, mainly colonels, attractive, highly educated and cultured, men who knew their worth. As a retired officer and a person who had fought at the front, I approached them in the dining hall and in the smoking room or rest room I joined in the general discussions. From the conversations I had with them, I made out that they were engaged in tallying our losses during the war and in so doing had been going through the archives. As I was told, the previous group had come up with a figure of more than 30 million, which the higher-ups had refused to accept.

"That is too many," they said and decided to create a new group.

I didn't even try to determine what their work methods were, that is whether they were familiar with statistics as a science, whether they had received instructions in the area of demography, whether they were interested in gathering data from nominal rolls or whether they were relying solely on reports from the battle staffs. Nonetheless I managed to ask them several questions. For example, how would they treat a case similar to the one involving the 140th infantry division, with which I went into battle on June 23, 1941. There were 18 thousand men in the division. During the first two weeks of fighting, the division found itself opposite one of the enemy's main thrusts, the one towards Kiev, and lost half of its fighting strength. The remainder became integrated into other units, many of which fought their way out of the pocket formed near the village of Podvysokoye in the Kirovograd Region, an action that was well-described in Evgeny Dolmatovsky's book *Green Drama*. Because of that, records on this division formed before the war simply disappeared. In such a case, how can one expect anyone to include these losses in the final tally as there is not even so much as a scrap of paper to serve as a record of the less of these 18 thousand.

While calculating the losses during the siege of Sevastopol (1941–1942), I jokingly asked whether they were going to be guided by the words of the song "The last sailor left Sevastopol..." or by the letter written to me by a disabled veteran who told me that during the evacuation, those who were taken aboard the last ships of the navy to leave were determined by orders which came from the top, and the "last sailor" stayed behind in Sevastopol along with 68 thousand wounded. This was written to me by someone who knew what happened as he occupied an important post and had access to the list of officers at headquaters.

Finally, will they be given access to the records of the counterintelligence service SMERSH? The pages on which I copied information contained in one archive, which were signed by the commander and head of the headquarters of one unit, and by members of SMERSH, were torn out of my notebook and given to the archive's resident KGB agent and I was given a serious reprimand. With access to SMERSH files, one can calculate how many soldiers were shot at the front... Do they have access to records on the punitive detachments which followed along behind advancing troops to prevent desertion, on shock officer batalions, penal army and navy regiments, on special camps which, like marching GULAGs followed behind advancing units, as well as material of the military procuracy, military tribunals and many other units which engaged in repression at the front?

The answers to the majority of my questions were in the negative. Several days later they left without having finished, saying that they would not come back as their research group was to be disbanded. Evidently the General Staff fell back on its old tactics. If someone superior thinks the figure at 34–36 million is too big, then they just go right ahead and say 27 million. Meanwhile, new figures have come in from demographers who claim that in actuality, the total losses number some 44 million.

How long will we have to wait the "Memory Book" being compiled under the guidance of our marshals comes out? Such books have been published long ago in all the countries which fought in the war.

The remains of an Italian soldier who perished in the Voronezh Region were flown home, to the accompaniment of orchestra playing a funeral march, all due to the efforts of not only the Italian government, but also of Italian generals. Has anything of the kind ever been orchestrated here?

The fiftieth anniversary of the start of the war is right around the corner and we have not yet managed to erect a proper war memorial. Millions of rubles collected all over the country have been wasted in hastily organized contests which brought no results whatsoever.

We have made lots of identical-looking cement, plaster and time sculptures of grieving mothers, symbolizing the Motherland, and soldiers kneeling before them (it is not clear why a dead person should be kneeling) which pop up along the side of the road like road signs, serving as constant reminders of our souless attitude towards those who died for their Homeland.

And even these monuments are not kept up well. It is only on important anniversaries that Young Pioneers come around and place flowers, and not always voluntarily. On plywood grave markers in villages, the names of those villagers who died at the front have long been wiped off so today there are people who don't even know why they are taking up space in their villages.

When I come across such a monument, I say to it: "Forgive us, my coevals, all 44 million (or more) of you. We haven't fogoten you. Your wives cry to this day and they and your children are now entitled to the perks as we invalids and veterans. They, like us, receive holiday food handouts in which they receive a kilo of groats or pasta, 200 grams of butter, a can of sweetened condensed milk and sometimes something else." And now we receive food parcels from Germany, whose sons lie buried in our soil...

Fyodor Setin,
war invalid

What is the woman's place?

Today's democrats remain advocates of patriarchate

"Perestroika is in its sixth year, but nothing has changed for the better in the economy," complain the Soviet people. But there is another sphere as untouched by change as the economy: politics has remained the almost exclusive prerogative of men. While Europe is discussing the percentage of men and women in national governments, while practically every European cabinet includes several female ministers and some are actually headed by women, the situation regarding women's political action remains less than unsatisfactory in the USSR.

The CPSU Politburo includes only one woman (who became a voting member only after this body had lost much of its former power) and no woman was to be seen in the recently dissolved Presidential Council or in the now existing Council of the Federation.

Let us take the other Soviet republics. A woman headed the government of Lithuania just at the time when the republic declared its intention to cede from the USSR. In politics, the woman's role remains traditional: either the Wife of a High-Placed Official, or a Soldier's Mother.

Women took an active part in the October Revolution. Alexandra Kollontai was the first female minister and later served as the first female ambassador. Nadezhda Krupskaya led the anti-illiteracy drive. Inessa Armand was a prominent figure in the Communist Party. Under Stalin and Brezhnev, women were tolerated only as a decorative element, for example in the Soviets (holding their sessions once a year at the time) to which women were elected with the sole right to vote unanimously for the party apparat's decisions. Is this glaring difference from the early years of the Soviet power incidental? Or perhaps, this fact can be explained by women's craving for liberation and a dislike of the rigid bureaucratic regime?

And today? No country in the world has yet reached a 50 percent level of women's participation in politics. This level, however, presumes that household problems and the upbringing of children will also be equally shared by men and women. In the Soviet Union, though, stereotypical idea about "the natural division of labour" between man and woman remains stronger than anywhere.

Different political trends unite when it comes to the old approaches to women's equality. Even Mikhail Gorbachev, who favours greater female involvement in political life, wrote in his book *Perestroika: New Thinking for our Country and the World*: "Engaged in scientiic research, working on construction sites, in production and in the services, and involved in creative activities, women no longer have enough time to perform their everyday duties at home – housework, the upbringing of children and the creation of a good family atmosphere."

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

Why do Soviet leaders stubbornly refuse to mention the family duties of men who are fathers, husbands and masters of homes? Instead it is suggested that "women return to their purely womanly mission." Is a women's place only in the home and in the kitchen? Recipies that centuries old are no help for perestroika coming as it does at the end of the 20th century.

Boris Yeltsin once said: had premier Ryzhkov's wife spent hours every day queueing up at the shops, the premier would have noticed how bad the economic situation in the country really was.

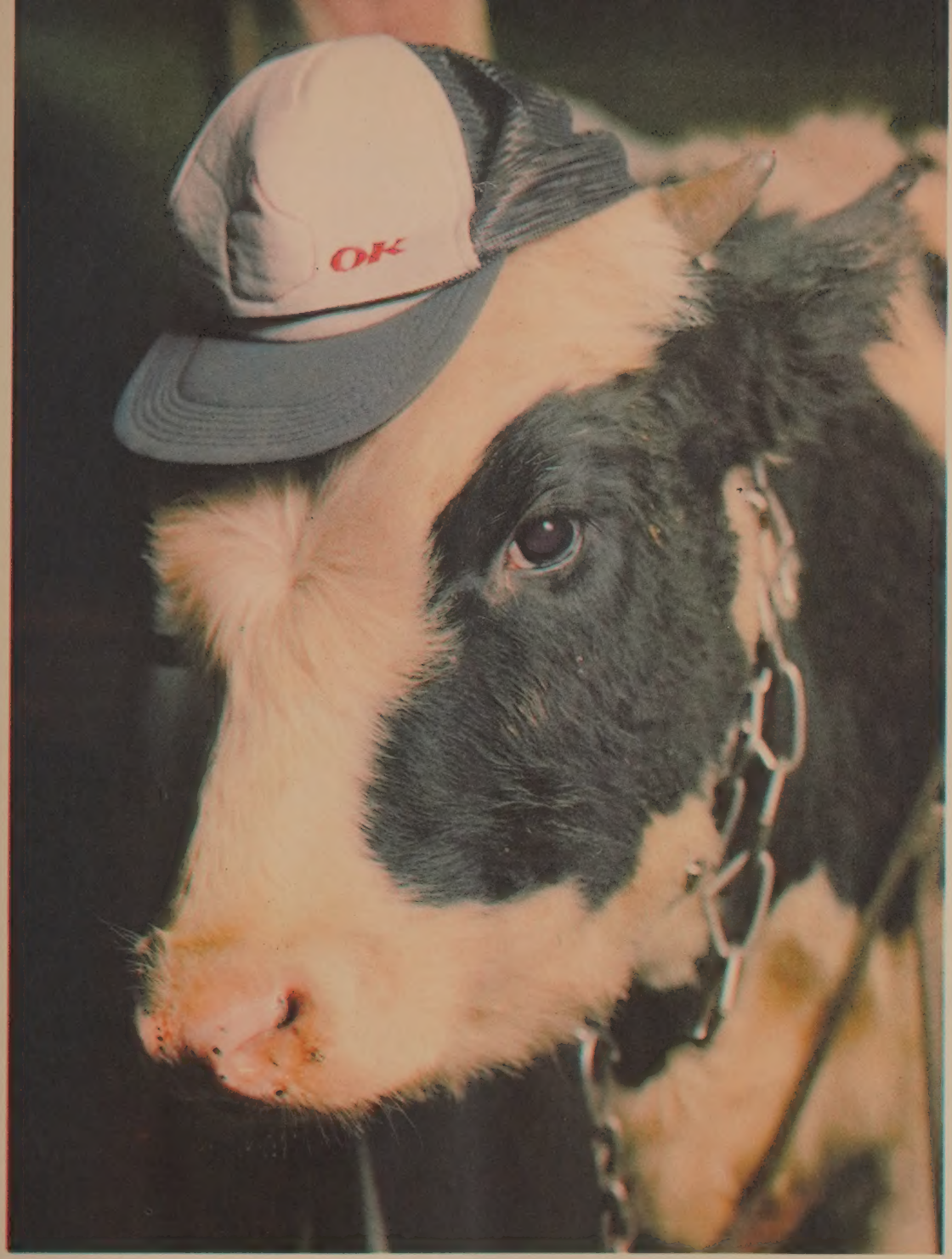
Why are women supposed to spend their time in queues? Perhaps the cares about daily bread are something that is alien to the nature of men? Perhaps the manly mission is making eloquent, lengthy speeches? Perhaps, this plus the weak female representation are the reasons why the Soviets are so inefficient when dealing with everyday practical problems?

As a man, I believe that men will only benefit from a more active female participation in professional and political life. Work and public debates will become more humane and men will discover the wonderful world of the upbringing of children.

The right to stay at home after the birth of a child must belong to men and women alike, just as it does in all civilized countries. Creches and kindergartens should not fall victims to austerity programmes. Traditionally female professions must pay better salaries and women must be specially protected from unemployment by offering taxation privileges to employers who hire more women.

Patriarchate – when men are heads of families and women are slaves – must be regarded as a violation of human rights.

Adrian Geiges
German journalist



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